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# Serb Party Offices Are Hit in Belgrade

NATO Strike on Headquarters Also Knocks Out 3 TV Stations



Political center in New Belgrade burning after an attack by NATO.

## Amid Raids, **NATO Plans** A Rebuilding Of Balkans

By Katherine Q. Seelye New York Times Service

WASHINGTON - The Western military alliance has begun promoting the idea of a sweeping reconstruction of the Balkans, even as it destroys refueries, bridges, roads and buildings throughout Serbia and in parts of

Montenegro.

Though the idea is still vague, the Clinton administration hopes that the NATO summit meeting in Washington this weekend will produce a framework for the project, which would cover all the countries of the Balkans.

Administration officials insist that carrying ant any plan, especially in the countries surrounding the two republics making up Yugoslavia, would not hinge on a resolution of the Kosovo conflict or the ouster of President Slobodan Mi-

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said Taesday that millions of people in the Balkans were depending on an economic rescue and could not be "held hostage" by the fate of one

The Clinton administration has not begun to define the scale of such a project or to focus on the nuts and boits of how much it would cost, which countries would participate and their goals.

But the theme of such a reconstruction plan is at important as the details because it would signal that international pressure will be brought to bear to promote economic cooperation and that Yugoslavia's future lies with its integration into Europe.

Various European nations have talked in recent years of rebuilding the Balkans, with little to show for it. With the war in Kosovo now in the process of roining the province's capacities for production and its transportation system as well as accelerating the mass exodus of its population into already distressed neighboring countries, the alliance says it is more determined now to seek a

broad, perusanent solution.

President Bill Clinton, who discussed the rebuilding of the Balkans privately with Prime Minister Tony Blair of Bri tain two weeks ago, publicly raised the notion of U.S. participation in the plan

We should try to do for Southeastern

See REBUILD, Page 7

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#### By Steven Erlanger

BELGRADE — The NATO alliance struck hard at Yugoslavia's political and media elite Wednesday, knocking three television stations off the air and destroying the party offices of both President Slobodan Milosevic and his wife. A bridge across the Sava River only a few kilometers from central Belgrade

The attacks came as the White House indicated that the United States would support "revising" a 1998 study on ground troops in Kosovo if NATO re-

The White House denied, however, that such a reassessment would constitute a commitment of ground troops.

NATO meeting to focus on ground troops and oil cut-off. Page 7.

It was NATO's first attack on the Serbian mass media in Belgrade, al-though the main state television and radio, Radio and Television of Serbia, was not hit and remained on the air.

But the three cruise missiles that set a 24-story building aflame also sent a clear message that, after weeks of hesitation, NATO would now bit the business interests of Mr. Milosevic's family and friends.

The building, formerly the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party in the old days, contains the offices of Mr. Milosevic's Serbian Socialist Party and the offices of the Yugoslav United Left party of his wife,

Mirjana Markovic.
It also houses the studios and transmitters of Radio and TV Kosava, or Wind, which belongs to their daughter, Marin; the studios and transmitters of TV Pink, which belongs to Milosevic member of the Yugoslav Left.

In addition, there is the studio and transmitter of the main sports channel, SOS, and the main transmitter of BK TV, owned by the four Brothers Karic; one of them, Bogoljub, is a Yogoslav Left minister without portfolio in the Serbian government.

All the stations were knocked off the r, except for the entertainment channel Pink, which can be seen in one area of Belgrade because Mr. Mitrovic also has a small transmitter on the roof of his house in the elite residential and dip-

lomatic area of Dedinje.

An attack on transmitters in the northern city of Novi Sad left the city of 400,000 without any television reception at all, including the channels of state television.

The last of Novi Sad's three bridges over the Danube was also badly darned, closing it to road and rail traffic. While the Zezeljev bridge still stands, it

See KOSOVO, Page 7

## Slayings of 15 at School Shock America



Distraught students consoling one another outside the high school in Littleton, Colorado.

# Young Eyewitnesses to Horror

Students Hid or Ran as the Killers Fired and Laughed

By Tom Kenworthy and Joel Achenbach

Committine High School, "Home of the Rebels," is a big place with a couple of thousand studeots. It's where there are clubs and cliques and subcultures, where a dozen or so strange kids can form something called the Trench Coat Mafia, obsess about death, make a video about their new guns — and it's just part

On Tuesday, the killers came to school across the soccer field. It was 11:30 in the morning on a spring day in Littleton, Colorado, in the Denver soluros.

There were two of them, juniors in high school, wearing black trench coats. They opened fire as soon

as they reached the parking lot.

Mindy Pollock, a 10th-grader, said: "I was walking out to go to a friend's car, and I heard what sounded like firecrackers. And I saw two kids, one in a hig black trench coat with a handgun and one on top of the ledge with a hnge gun. And they were shooting. I saw kids just drop to the ground. The one with the shotgun shot a couple of them right there. We didn't know what it was. My friends, they were, like, 'It could be a fake gun.' But then I saw a kid on the ground and he couldn't move, and I said it's not fake.

It was horribly, viscerally real. Students and teachers began running in every direction. Wade Frank, a senior eating lunch in a picnic area, heard popping

sounds and saw a girl fall to the ground, shot in the leg. One guaman approached a fleeing boy and fired straight into his back. "Just point-blank." Wade said. "He had a gun two feet long. Maybe a sawed-off. He was just casually walking. He wasn't in any

The killers went to the cafeteria. They threw a bomemade bomb ooto the floor. As they opened fire they giggled, survivors said. Like television villains they explained their motives as they went: They were seeking revenge for being outcasts. Several students said the gunmen were targeting athletes and minor-

Chris Wisher, a sophomore, said the gunmeo were armed with bombs, a shotgun, a handgun and a third weapon that he said was "like an Uzi." Chris and a friend, Jonathan Vandemark, 16, spent an agonizing two hours trapped with dozens of other students inside a biology classroom.

Josh Nielsen, a junior, heard what sounded like someone pounding on lockers. Then the fire alarm went off. Surely, he thought, it was just another drill. Then he saw smoke in a hallway.
"I thought it was a real fire," he said. "People

were running. Then I saw that the froot windows were hlown oot. Then I heard someone shouting, 'There's somebody shooting.

Upstairs in the choir room, the students were

See STUDENTS, Page 6

## 'Revenge' Cited as Motive Of 2 Outcast Students; **Experts Check for Bombs**

By Brian Knowlton

WASHINGTON — In the stunned aftermath of the worst school shooting in U.S. history, bomh experts checked lockers, combed through debris and experts checked lockers, combed through debris and examined parked cars Wednesday in and near the Colorado high school where 15 people were killed Tuesday in a devastating rampage hy two young gunnen, who were among the dead.

The bloody attack at Columbine High School in the Denver sohurh of Littleton claimed the lives of

11 males and 4 females, including one adult, apparently a teacher. Sixteen teenagers remained hospitalized Wedoesday, five in critical condition.

A solemn President Bill Clinton called on Americans to "commit to act together" to prevent such 'horror and agony' from happening again. He

The two shooters were seen as outcasts. • What makes children killers? Page 6.

called for new efforts to identify and help troubled

The police identified the gunmeo as Eric Harris, 18, and Dylan Klebold, 17, both juniors at the school. The two apparently fired hundreds of shots and detonated some half-dozen homemade bombs. sowing terror for more than four hours in an apparent 'reveoge" attack aimed mainly at student-athletes and others they believed had mistreated them.

The gunmen's bodies were found in the school library, dead of apparently self-inflicted gunshot wounds, with bombs strapped to their bodies. Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold were members of a

group of 10 to 20 white male students known as the "Trench Coat Mafia," the police said. The group was described as social misfits and white supremacists who dressed in black and were fixated with death, Gothic fantasies and Nazi themes. The attack occurred on Hitler's birthday. At least one of the first policemen to enter the

huilding exchanged shots with the guarnen, the au-thorities said. Although no suicide notes were found, there were indications that the two had intended suicide. Mr. Harris reportedly posted a message Tuesday morning on an Internet Web site, saying, "Today is my last day on earth." But the authorities could not say whether the message was authentic.

Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold, the police sai

entered the large, modern school huilding at lunch-time Tuesday, dressed in ski masks and hlack trench coats, under which they carried rifles or shotguns and semiautomatic handguns. Terrified students heard gunshots and explosions and ran for cover. Most escaped from the school, hut dozens of others were trapped inside for hours.

The gunmen reportedly laughed and giggled as they tossed bombs and fired at students. They left a scene of bloody chaos.

Sergeant George Hinkle, a SWAT team member who was among the first on the scene, described what he called "a tremendous amount of destruction," incloding damage from at least five bombs. "We've got backpacks all over, shoes, speot shell

cases, it jost looks like a war zone," he told CNN. The city of Littleton remained in deep shock as Americans again grappled to make sense of an emption of violence in a well-to-do suhurban school and to pooder again the ready availability of fire-

arms, even to young people.

The attack brought a brutal cod to what had been

See SCHOOL, Page 6

U.S. soldiers cleaning a runway in Tirana before the arrival of Apache attack helicopters on Wednesday.

#### AGENDA

#### **Telecom Italia Agrees to Merger Deal**

Telecom Italia SpA's board agreed to a takeover offer by Deutsche Telekom AG, which may thwart Olivetti SpA's \$65 billion hostile bid, after \$190 billion. Germany pledged not to meddle in the management of the new company, a statement from Telecom Italia said

The move, which still needs ac-

ceptance by 90 percent of Telecom Italia investors, would combine Italy's and Germany's top phone companies into the world's biggest by value, at

Announcement of the agreement was delayed because of potential tax with the deal said. Page 11.

#### China Stole Secrets, **New Study Concludes**

A comprehensive new analysis by U.S. intelligence officials has concluded that China stole design information related to the United States' most advanced nuclear warhead from a government nuclear weapons laboratory. Page 6.

## **Indonesia Military Backs East Timor Peace Accord**

#### Climate Improved for Talks on Autonomy Vote

By Michael Richardson

SINGAPORE - In a move to end a series of political killings in East Timor, the military chief of Indooesia, General Wiranto, said Wednesday that he would enforce a truce between warring East Timorese groups that was signed earlier

"I will take actioo in accordance with the law against whoever betrays the peace," he said in Dili, the capital of East Timor, after witnessing the signing of the truce between leaders of armed factions favoring and opposing independeoce for the dispoted territory.

Diplomats in Jakarta said that the truce would create a favorable climate

for talks between the Indooesian and Portuguese foreign ministers in New York oo Thursday and Friday. They are hoping to finalize details of an Indonesian offer of wide-ranging antonomy for East Timor and how it is to be put to the people there. In effect, the ballot, scheduled for

Joly and to be organized and sopervised by the United Nations, will be a choice between remaining part of Indonesia or becoming independent.

But the diplomats cautioned that the

truce in East Timor remained fragile after the recent bloodshed, which incloded a rampage by pro-Jakarta mi-litias in Dili over the weekend that killed as many as 30 people while troops and police officers stood by. Nearly all of the victims were civilians suspected of

supporting independence.
[The violence continued Wednesday

## as five youths were killed within hours of the signing of the truce. Reuters reported. Quoting East Timorese resistance sources. Portugal's Lusa oews agency said the five youths died near Liquica.

See TIMOR, Page 4

where at least 25 people were killed in a

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# Family of Kosovars Finally Ends Long Exodus of Terror and Pain

By Anthony DePalma New York Times Service

UKES, Albania - The moment he crossed into Albania and registered with police at the shabby border station about 10 miles east of here. Ymer Behrami was given four blankets, a large green tarp, and what he believed was a chance for him and his family to leave behind the madness

But he had no idea that by passing into Albania he was now congaged in we new struggle — to provide for the seven children on his wagon. As it turned out, the apartment he expected to be waiting for him in Albania never appeared. Obtaining food, even a piece of bread, forced him to fight and claw like an animal. The intimidation and humiliation he thought he had left behind with the Yugoslav forces in Kosovo found him again, only this time from his own side.

Within hours, he heard Albanian soldiers bark orders at him and saw Albanian children taunt him with the three-fingered Serbian salute. He watched his childreo shiver with cold

and cry from hunger.

And after surviving the threats and beatings of Serbian police, he was among those rounded up by armed members of the Kosovo Liberatioo Army, the Kosovo Albanian rebels, who questioned him and frightened him so much that after he was released he took his family and fled yet again.

For every one of the more than 600,000 Kosovo Albanians expelled by Yugoslavs over the last three weeks, the escape from Kosovo was hut a single point in a long exodus of terror and pain, preceded by months of anxiety and followed by long days of disappointment and vulnerability. Their journey did not start at the border, nor end there.

TILL, IT WAS natural for Mr. Behrami, a stem and stoic 58-year-old of Albanian descent whose family had been in Kosovo for many generations, to feel the bright, warm sun of midafternooo and think he was lucky still to be alive. The last nine months had been a relentless round of intimidation and fear, starting with the rifle shots and morear rounds he heard approaching his village, Kotore, a rebel strongbold southwest of Mitrovica, on July 25.

"There was fighting and they star-ted to bomb;" he recalled. After two days of listening to the Yngoslav shells come nearer, Mr. Behrami felt he had to flee. He packed his wagon and hitched it to his 1978 C-355 Ursus tractor, with a lucky horseshoe ig over the radiator estill

He took one last, heart-searing look at his home, the product of 40 years of working hard in an ore-processing plant and oo his beloved farm.

'We had good water, beautiful mountains, big trees, everything," he said. He had built three houses for his large family, solid houses of stone and cement. He had eight cows and boasted that they gave so much milk the

pails overflowed.
"It was," he said, "paradise." But
he also said that his Serbian oeighbors

were suspicious and jealous, even after he had lived near them for so many years. As he left for the last time,

they came out.
"My neighbors were wearing the uniforms of the Serbian Army." he said. "They beat us, and put a knife under my chin and told me, 'Go to NATO. Go to the U.S.A. and let them help you.""

He drove to his daughter's house in the city of Mitrovica. During the nine months he stayed there, the days rang with rifle fire, and the nights were lit bian police returned to Mitrovica.

Knowing they would eventually arrive, he had loaded his wagon weeks before. He took what he thought would be useful things, such as an ax, a small stove and a sack of flour to make bread. He took hlankets and cushions for the 21 people in his ex-tended family who would ride oo the

rattling wooden wagon.

And Mr. Behrami brought along a small wooden cradle, called a djep. Not because he expected to need it— the youngest of his 10 children is 9

Serbian police watched and waited until they left. It took about 10 minutes. They started heading toward the city of Pec, but were stopped by police and forced to wait with other refugees overnight. It was there that they found Aslan Hasani, 48, who is married to Mr. Behrami's younger sister. Mr. Hasani's family had taken refuge in the city after having been forced from his own village, Rezane, near Mitrovica, by Yugoslav forces on

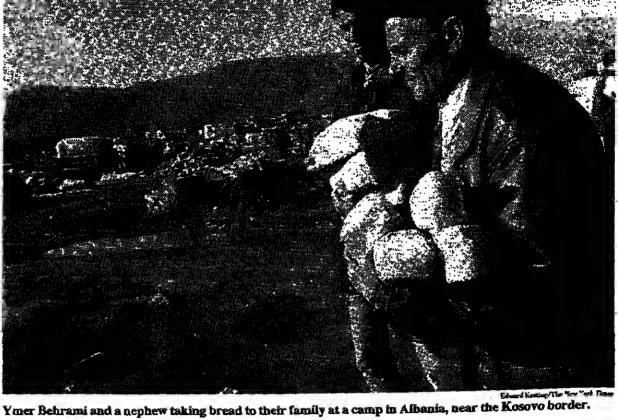
R. HASANI, a biology teacher, had spent a horrible night tortured by doubts about his wife and son, whom he had left behind.

For six days before the Serbs showed up, Mr. Hasam's son Bajram, 16, had suffered severe stomach pains. Mr. Hasani was reluctant to brine him to the hospital in Mitrovica and run the

risk of encountering police. Finally his wife, Naile, took the boy to the hospital and stayed with him until he received the oecessary ap-



Members of Ymer Behrami's family after crossing the border from Kosovo to Albania, where they found their troubles far from over.



ing been robbed and beaten by police twice oo the way, and having eaten nothing but hard bread and sait, Mr. Hasani cared for his other four children and womied about the part of his

family that had been taken from him. As the tractor neared Kukes on Saturday, the family got its first glimpse of what life would be like for them in Albania. At a bend in the road, the Italian government had built a refugee camp, surrounded by barbed wire.

Tractors and wagons were scattered everywhere. There was no clear way to get in - or out - and oo official to

Mr. Behrami, who had driven all the way from Mitrovica, finally got off the tractor. "What can I do now?" he asked his brother-in-law. He spoke through the barbed wire to someone in the camp, asking first for information about relatives, then about conditions in the camp. With optimism draining from his angular face, he looked around and sighed.

Three rifle shots sounded just then, and oot far away he could see an Albanian guard chasing after local children who had stolen something from the camp. He adjusted the dirty black beret he never removed and shook his head.

"We are going to Kukes," he quietly told one of his sons. "We will have to pay for a room, and it will be very expensive, but we cannot stay here."

Grimly, he moved the tractor forward again, He fell silent a few minotes later when he saw the chaos of the unorganized tractor encampments. that have sprung up around Kukes. Unlike the official camps, which are at least organized, if inadequate, these unofficial camps are nothing more than open fields.

Mr. Behrami is the unquestioned patriarch of his family, a strong figure cisions. Now he was lost, and the uncharacteristic indecision seemed to sap his strength. "I doo't know where to stop," he told his sons on the tractor. "Where do we go?"

It was a painful scene for the family, lasting until ooe son, Lavdim, whose arm had been fractured by a blow from a Serbian policeman, gestured for his father to pull into a vacant spot alongside the road.

Later, Mr. Behrami lined up to receive a few unwrapped loaves.

After ensuring that everyone in the family had bread, he wandered into town, stopping to ask peddlers and old men sitting on stoops about finding shelter. With less than an hour left before nightfall, he resigned himself to sleeping in the muddy field.

But he knew that after being

squeezed into the wagoo for two days, they had to have room to stretch oot. He and his brother-in-law, Mr. Hasani, wearily began to unload the tractor when a stranger offered to let them use a nearby empty wagoo. Mr. Behrami gladly accepted and sent the women and children over. He spent his first night in safety sleeping in his wagon under the green tarp given to him at the border.

The oext day was a continuation of the last: fruitless searching for a room. continuous worrying about his family.

For a second night the extended family slept in the wagons — Mr. Hasani and that side of the family in the borrowed wagon at the muddy field; Mr. Behrami's wife and children in a garbage-filled lot in the center of

another empty wagon. The following morning, after the rains stopped, Mr. Behrami trudged once more through the dilapidated city searching for a room, hoping to get his family under a roof somewhere. Still he had not spoken to any relief worker.

Knkes. There he was offered the use of

ISCOURAGED, he returned to the tractor at mid-day to find a thouseish look at ing man accusing him, of having taken his wapoo the night be-fore without permission. A contingent of Kosovo rebel soldiers, heavily armed and wearing new uniforms and identification tags, came up to Mr. Behrami and ordered him to go with them. In Kukes, local authority has the rebels, whose presence in the city is inescapable.

It was a nightmarish repeat of what he had been through before in Kosovo. Withoot a chance to tell his wife anything, Mr. Behrami was taken away With his hands in the pockets of his coat, his beret firmly on his head, he walked with them, hunched over, not looking back.

The soldiers took him around the comer to a local outpost where the man who made the complaint against him gestured threateningly with a large wrench. The rebels hustled Mr. Behrami into a small red Lada sedan, squeezing him into the back seat with three rebels, their automatic rifles

planted between their legs.
Other refugees said that Mr. Behrami returned a few hours later and parked the tractor in a lot somewhere. Then, along with the members of his side of the family, he took a bus to the capital, Tirana. This is something he had said repeatedly be would not do; the rebels had obviously changed his mind.

The djep was left behind.
As they had begun several days before, the family was ending this part of its sad odyssey split apart. Mr. Behrami left for Tirana without a word to his brother-in-law, who was still in the first borrowed wagon on the edge of the muddy field. Paralyzed hy worry over the fate of his wife and son in the hospital in Mitrovica, he had done nothing to secure a home. He worried that his family would be put out of the wagoo that night.

Bot then the owner of the wagon be had been using, who had already found shelter in a rural village, came

He and Mr. Hasani met for the first time. They shook hands, and smoked a cigarette. "We have very little," said the owner, Hatim Merdiu, who came from the Kosovo village of Bro-dosane, oear the Albanian border. "But we must take care of each other," He told Mr. Hasani to stay in the

wagon as long as he needed.
People who arrived in the camps after him told Mr. Hasani they heard that his son was dead. Some said they had seen two bodies in his house. He tried not to believe them. His responsibility now was to care for his four other children, little ones who cry at

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From Politic

One of them, Advam, 4, has the same carly bair as his father. He is a dirty-faced imp with eyes that have , already seen things a boy should oever

The sun came out, and the air turned warm. Advam took from his pocket his own treasure, a set of marbles. He knelt down and shot one expertly, knocking another into a puddle. And there, at that momeot, in the mud and waste, it appeared he had made a home from the fury of war,

#### TRAVEL UPDATE

#### Air France Still Hobbled at Nice

NICE (AFP) - Air France ground staff at Nice airport extended their strike over job security into Wednesday, continuing an action that has severely disrupted traffic at France's

Air France oo Tuesday has been forced to cancel flights be: ween the Riviera city and other Freoch and European cities of Toulon. The Nice-Cote d'Azur airport saw more then - million passengers in 1998, with almost a third, or 2.6 people, using Air France flights.

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THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER

2 More Airlines Going to Libya

Lufthansa said Wednesday that it was resuming regular service to Libya for the first time in seven years, with daily constop flights from Frankfurt to Tripoli five days a week. The German national carrier said the first flight would depart Frankfurt airport Thursday night, returning early the

Also, Austrian Airlines said Wednesday it would resume flights to Tripoli beginning May 2. The airline will operate four flights weekly between Vienna and Tripoli. (AP. AFP)

Egyptian Cities to Be Spruced Up CAIRO (AFP)—The Egyptian government has announced a fresh drive to restore the "civilized image" of Cairo and Alexandria, historic cities blighted by traffic congestion and

unchecked construction.

Thirty new parking garages will be built, taxi stations serving the provinces will be moved to the outskirts of the two cities, and illegal buildings along a 42-kilometer (26-mile) stretch of the Nile in Cairo will be torn down and replaced with parks.

Torooto's subway service was back in operation Wednesday after transit workers ended a two-day strike. (AP)

#### Correction

An article in editions of Wednesday about the relationship between Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel and Ehud Barak, a challenger in the May 17 elections, misstated the year in which Mr. Barak led the storming of a Sabena jet hijacked by terrorists in Tel Aviv. It was 1972, oot 1976.

#### WEATHER

Forecast for Friday through Sunday, as provided by AcculWeather

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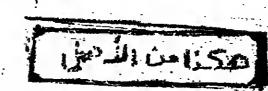
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# CLA Gleans Crucial Intelligence From Tidbits

By Vernon Loeb
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON - As they fathom the depths of Chinese nuclear weapons design, trying to figure out whether stolen U.S. secrets helped China test a miniaturized warhead, CIA analysts are finding espionage Beijing style to be maddeningly diffuse, bot not altogether foreign.

Beijing's spymasters are said to gather secrets brought home by thousands of traveling government officials, students and businessmen.

The Central Intelligence Agency has its own operation, the National Resources Division, for collecting miggets of information and bits of insight from American tourists, scholars and ex-

ecutives returning from overseas.
"Even during the Cold War," said Allen Thomson, a retired CIA scientist, "by far the most useful source of information about the details of matters in the USSR was the interagency emigré exploitation program coordinated by the CIA's Domestic Collection division, later called the National Resources

"Overhead photography was wonderful for some things, but there's a limit to what you can tell by looking down from several hundred miles up," Mr. Thomson said, "and classical espionage, despite its theoretical promise, came in a dead and distant last in terms of actual performance."

One irony, as a House select committee headed by Representative Christopher Cox, Republican of California, prepares to release an unclassified version of its report on technology transfers to China and Chinese espionage, is that the National Re- 1992. sources Division has been busy debriefing ex-

ecutives from U.S. satellite companies as they rional Imagery and Mapping Agency, taking con-return from China about Beijing's missile capatrol of the CIA's National Photographic Interbilities and satellite needs.

During the Cold War, Mr. Thomsoo said, individual Soviet émigrés rarely provided intelli-

ce blockbusters But the little bits and pieces, patiently collected and collated," he said, "were of enormous value in

understanding the Soviet Union."

Gary Smith, director of the Applied Physics
Laboratory at Johns Hopkins University, is the
newest "wizard" at the CIA, set to take over the agency's Directorate of Science and Technology this month.

.The directorate is the CIA's "O branch," the operation that dreams up, disguises and invents igets for far-flung spies.

But it is hardly the empire it was in the 1960s and early 1970s, when CIA scientists designed the gency's own spy satellites and CIA pilots flew U-2 reconnaissance missions.

For a very significant period of time during the Cold War, it was really the most significant component of the intelligence community," said Jef-frey Richelson, an intelligence specialist who is writing "The Wizards of Langley," a book about

But the directorate's mission has dwindled as other parts of the intelligence community more closely controlled by the Pentagon have grabbed pieces of its empire.

The U-2 program went to the air force in 1974, and the National Reconnaissance Office got rid of "Program B," s CIA management component, in

Four years later, the Pentagoo created the Na- the lawsuit.

pretation Center, the operation responsible for analyzing aerial imagery.

Mr. Richelson called the CIA's removal from imagery analysis "a very unfortunate move - the whole intelligeoce community, and conotry, is worse off because of that."

Meanwhile, the director of the CIA. George Tenet, cootinuing to fight further disclosure of CIA budget information, asked a federal judge last week dismiss a lawsuit filed by the Federation of American Scientists, which is seeking the disclosure of the 1999 budget request and Coogress's appropriation for intelligence.

Having previously disclosed overall intelligence oding of \$26.6 billion in 1997 and \$26.7 billion 1998, Mr. Tenet has refused further disclosure for the past year, arguing that releasing the 1999 total would damage national security by revealing spending trends of interest to foreign spies.

'Now is an especially critical and turbulent period for the intelligence budget." Mr. Tenet said, and the cootinued secrecy of the fiscal year 1999 budget request and total appropriation is necessary for the protection of vulnerable intelligence capabilities."

Steven Aftergood, director of the Federation of American Scientists project oo government secrecy, called Mr. Tenet's argument "silly and infuriating."

He has also filed a Freedom of Information Act request for the fiscal 2000 budget request. If that request is denied, he has promised to make it part of



HONOR FOR KOHL — The former German chancellor, Helmut Kohl, hugging President Bill Clinton after he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom at the White House for his many years of dealings with the United States.

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## Ending Independence, Radcliffe Joins Harvard

By Carey Goldberg
New York Times Service

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts --- After more than 100 years of arm's-length interaction between the his-andbers institutions at the pinnacle of academic prestige. Radcliffe College has agreed to be fully absorbed into Harvard University.

Radcliffe, which lost much of its initial mission as a women's annex when Harvard turned fully coeducational in the 1970s, is to be renamed the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study and expand its study of women and gender, among other subjects, bolstered by an infusion of \$150 million from Harvard, officials said Tuesday.

But the change in Radcliffe's status means it will give up its vestigial claims on undergraduate women at Harvard — it had still, technically, accepted their applications and put its seal on their diplomas, even though they studied at Harvard - and act as a center for scholarship much like a similar institute at Princeton

University, officials said.

The move carried heavy symbolic weight. An institution long known as one of the foremost educators of women is to merge into the formerly all-male bastion with which it had a close but often-fractions partnership.

The hardest part of the negotiations on the merger, said Nancy-Beth Gordon Sheerr, chairman of the Radcliffe College Board of Trustees, was "weighing the tremen-dous opportunities of moving in this direction against the meaningful nature of independence."

#### POLITICAL

#### Republicans May Add to Defense

WASHINGTON — Republicans in Congress, charging that President Bill Clinton has weakened the U.S. military, pledged to add billions of dollars for defense to his emergency request for funds to finance NATO's air strikes on Yugoslavia

They are discussing doubling the president's \$6 billion emergency request and using the money to beef up the national arsenal. Some even talk of trying to triple the request, but say they doubt they can win the votes.

The Republicans say they will use hearings and debate in coming days to challenge Mr. Clinton's conduct as commander in chief, question the progress of the war and call for sharp increases in Pentagon spending.

The House majority leader, Dick Armey, Republican of Texas, said Mr. Clinton had created a national security crisis by misusing the armed forces, and he suggested that Republicans might scale back plans for a huge tax cut, or cut domestic programs, to help pay for missiles, munitions and

#### Fallout of Pataki-Guiliani Feud

WASHINGTON — The tensions between Governor George Pataki of New York and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York City are causing growing concern among Republican officials on Capitol Hill, many of whom want Mr. Giuliani to run for the U.S. Senate next year and are worried that the feud will hurt the party's chances of winning the seat, particularly if Hillary Rodham Clinton is the Democratic

Mr. Giuliani's main rival for the Republican nomination is Representative Rick Lazio of Suffolk County, who has been courting Mr. Pataki aggressively. Neither man has formally announced the addidacy, but many New York Republicans say Mr. Pataki's allies have been quietly helping Mr. Lazio build support. Aides to Mr. Pataki deput those assertions. build support. Aides to Mr. Pataki deny those assertions.

But in Washington, a large number of Republican officials and fund-raisers view Mr. Ginliam as the party's strongest

## Quote /Unquote

Hillary Rodham Cliaton, during a campaign-style trip Tuesday into the heart of the Long Island, New York, suburbs that would be crucial to winning a race for Senate, discussing her failure to push Congress to enact sweeping national health care reform: "Clearly that approach did not work, and we're not going to try that again, rest assured."

#### **Away From Politics**

• Rosa Parks, 86, the "first lady" of the civil rights move-ment, will receive a Congressional Gold Medal for an act of defiance more than 40 years ago, when she refused to give up ther seat on a segregated Montgomery, Alabama, bus, and touched off a boycott.

A former waitress at a Waffle House in Mobile, Alabama, Tonda Dickerson, who won a \$10 million jackpot with a lottery ticket left as a tip, has been ordered to share the money with four co-workers. The co-workers had also received lottery tickets as tips and testified that they and Mrs. Dickerson had a share the wealth plan.

A judge in Oregon refused to give up state control of a baby shorn to an HIV-infected mother who wants to breast-feed. (AP)

An Indiana drifter with a history of dabbling in Satanic rituals was charged in dual federal indictments with setting 10 church fires in Indiana and Georgia, including one last year in which a firefighter died.



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# ASEAN Struggles to Change Its Reputation as Weak, Helpless and Divided

By Michael Richardson

SINGAPORE - Even as Southeast Asian countries prepare to complete their formal political unity this month with the admission of Cambodia as a member of the Association of South East Asian Nations, officials are calling for new steps to restore the group's credibility.

Weaknesses and tensions have been exposed in ASEAN as a result of its enlargement and the economic crisis in East Asia, officials and ana-

man rights issues in other ASEAN countries that were previously regarded as strictly the internal

affairs of the nation concerned. For example, the first Asian politician to criticize the six-year prison term given last week to former Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim of Malaysia on four corruption charges was Pres-

ident Joseph Estrada of the Philippines. The economic crisis, and the popular demand for reform and a better deal for the poor, brought new governments with a stronger commitment to democracy to power in the Philippines, Thailand

Analysts said that the Philippines and Thailand

racies — want to spread democratic principles more widely in ASEAN.

They said that Indonesia, under the weak but reformist government of President B.J. Habibie, wants to highlight its democratic credentials to get urgently needed international aid to help the country recover from its worst recession in more than 30 years.

Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong of Singapore warned during a recent visit to Brunei that ASEAN had lost much of its stature in the East Asian crisis.

Some members of the group, notably the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia, are raising huand, worse, disunited, "he said. "In our summits in 1997 and 1998, we failed to convince the outside world that ASEAN was tackling the crisis with determination and decisiveness to regain its high growth."

ASEAN countries vary greatly in size, systems of government and levels of economic development. They include Brunei, Burma, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines. Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Burma, Laos and Vietnam - which shunned ASEAN during the Cold War — joined in the past few years and remain staunchly authoritarian.

The economic crisis and ASEAN's enlargement — which will be complete when Cambodia

- Southeast Asia's two most robust democ- joins at a special ceremony in Hanoi on April 30 - are both contributing to the group's tarnished image and current weakness, analysis said.

Enlargement has increased ASEAN's political and economic diversity, wrote Koro Bessbo, a Japanese Foreign Ministry official on loan to the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, in a report published recently by the institute. "Given the organization's principle of consensus, this will make it hard to reach decisions.

That and Philippine officials said the tradition of noninterference in internal affairs had precluded any effective monitoring of financial and economic danger signs in member states before the crisis struck.

As a result there was no early warning and possible prevention of the financial turmoil that soread from Thailand in July 1997 to other countries in the region.

Dewi Fortuna Anwar, a foreign affairs advisor to President Habibie of Indonesia, said last month that Southeast Asian countries had grown used to sweeping problems under the rug. Citing widespread criticism of human rights

abuses in Burma, and territorial disputes between association members that needed to be resolved urgently, she said that the time had come for ASEAN to consider "creating a real and ef-

fective crisis-management center through which the countries in the region may seek solutions to the problems" confronting them.

ASEAN countries should start discussing security in all its aspects in a transparent, structured, and balanced manner," Ms. Anwar said. The business-as-usual attitude, or ASEAN way of doing business, can no longer be main-

She added that recent strains in relations between Malaysia and Singapore, and Indonesia and Singapore, underlined the need for such a forum, saying that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe might serve as a model.

Analysts said that some ASEAN countries vere likely see this proposal as a formula for further contention and would prefer instead to leave political issues on the back burner while concentrating on hastening Southeast Asia's economic integration.

Prime Minister Goh of Singapore said that the key to recovery was to regain investor confidence in the region.

'We must adopt practical measures and persuade the developed countries to be involved in helping ASEAN recover," he said, "One idea is for ASEAN as a whole to organize joint investment road shows to the United States, Europe and Japan to sell the region.'

Mr. Goh said that this could be done late this year, after the Indonesian elections that officials of neighboring countries hope will help restore stability in ASEAN's largest member.

Mr. Goh said that the association should also encourage more business missions to the region from the major developed nations and that it should make sure that the right signals were sent to investors that ASEAN remained committed to economic liberalization and welcomed foreign

Rodolfo Severino, the association secretarygeneral, told a conference in Canberra last week that hy the beginning of 2000, the ASEAN Free Trade Area would be substantially in place, creating an increasingly barrier-free market of 500

million consumers to attract investors. ASEAN finance ministers and central bankers are also meeting more frequently to improve surveillance of economic and financial policies in member countries, he said.

"What is little known is the fact that the

ASEAN governments have begun to inform one another about their internal policies and reforms, and have exchanged views on them," Mr. Severino said. "This sharing of information is mo-tivated not only hy the heightened need for transparency; it is also a mechanism for intensified consultation."

# प्रधान मत्री बनान के दि

Sonia Gandhi's political opponents holding a banner Wednesday reading, "Persons of foreign origin, go home!"

## Visit by British Royals Gives Fillip to Seoul

By Don Kirk

Philip of Britain received the standard tourist's briefing Wednesday as he gazed upon the desolate brown hills of North Korea from a guard post over-looking this truce village in the demilitarized zone that has divided North and South since the Korean War.

'That's the actual boundary between North and South Korea," Lieumander of a battalion of U.S. and South Korean troops guarding their side of the line, told the prince as he gazed at rows of barbed wire. Down the slope from the guardpost, the prince, like thousands of tourists before him, mask dance. stepped across the line into North Ko-

Continued from Page 1

The diplomats also said there were

doubts that the military on the ground in

East Timor would be able or willing to

disarm the two sides, especially pro-

Indonesian militias that are known to

bave close ties with the security forces.

er Xanana Gusman signed the cease-fire

agreement in Jakarta, where be is under

It was signed in Dili by Domingos

Soares on behalf of pro-Jakarta militias

at the home of East Timor's spiritual

leader and Nobel Peace laureate, Bishop

with the newly formed East Timor Na-

tional Commission on Human Rights, is

expected to resume reconciliation talks

in the next few days between East

Timorese rival factions. He suspended

the talks because of the recent blood-

former Portuguese colony, in 1975 and annexed it the next year. The takeover was never recognized by the United Na-

tions, creating a chronic foreign-policy problem for Jakarta that was aggravated

hy frequent reports of human-rights

15,000 troops in the territory, and the

military has suffered hundreds of cas-

Analysts say some influential groups

in the armed forces believe that if East

Timor is allowed to become independ-

ent, something President B.J. Hahibie says will be considered if autonomy is

rejected, it would be a hard blow to

der Downer of Australia said in an in-

Shortly before the truce was signed Wednesday, Foreign Minister Alexan-

national unity and military prestige.

ualties in fighting since 1975.

Indonesia is reported to have about

abuses by Indonesian security forces.

Indonesia invaded East Timor, a

The Catholic bishop, working closely

The pro-independence guerrilla lead-

church massacre this month.

house arrest.

Carlos Belo.

Korean War armistice in July 1953. PANMUNIOM, Korea — Prince itarized zone marked a diversion from a state visit in which he and Queen most crave — a show of endorsement for their seeming success in recovering

from the depths of economic crisis. While the prince was looking toward the North, the Queen was observing her 73d birthday in an ancient village tenant Colonel James Nixon, com- about 250 kilometers (150 miles) southeast of Seoul. Hundreds of villagers greeted her before she sampled a local version of kimchi, the spicy multifaceted consequences, 'said Lee pickled vegetable that is a staple of the Ho Jin, spokesman for the Ministry of pickled vegetable that is a staple of the Korean diet, and watched a traditional

verbal brickbats since the signing of the Korean War armistice in July 1953. 
They seem to have done a remark-Prince Philip's sortie to the demil- able joh with their economy." the queen remarked at a reception shortly after arriving here Monday. She hes-Elizabeth II have provided the South itated when asked if the trip might be with the kind of support its leaders construed as a pat on the back for President Kim Dae Jung but she agreed

that Koreans "might see it that way." In fact, Seoul officials view the visit, the first by a British monarch, as a coup that has temporarily silenced leaders of the opposition party that Mr. Kim defeated in his fourth bid for the presidency in December 1997.

"The queen's visit has brought Foreign Affairs and Trade, largely responsible for arranging the four-day Beneath the symbolism of the tours mission here, "It has not only brought

## Sonia Gandhi Sees Support for Coalition

#### Congress Party Leader Says It Has Enough Votes to Form a Government

By Celia W. Dugger New York Times Service

NEW DELHI - Sonia Gandhi, the widowed, Italian-born heir to India's political dynasty, said Wednesday that the Congress (I) Party, which she leads, will form a minority government sup-ported by more than a dozen other political parties, but declined to say whether she would be prime minister.

After she emerged from a half-hour meeting with India's president, a calm, businesslike Mrs. Gandhi claimed a Congress-led government now has the support of 272 members of Parliament. enough for a bare onc-vote majority, and promised that she would give the president letters from allies to prove it within

"We have 272 and we hope to get more." she said. "We are confident we will get more."

If she can deliver the votes, and that is still far from certain, the once dominant Congress Party, in ruinous decline over the past decade, would reclaim power from its main national rival, the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The new government would be India's sixth since 1996.

Many analysts and some Congress Party members say that such a government, dependent for survival on a bickering, diverse set of regional, leftist and caste-based parties, would be shaky and likely to topple in short order, with the probable result of new national elec-

The Hindu nationalists led a fractious coalition that came undone last week and lost a confidence vote Saturday by a slun margin of 269 to 270. There are 545 members in the Lok Sahha, the lower house of Parliament, but two seats are vacant, which means that 272 is for now the magic number for a majority.

The year-old BJP-led government shocked the world last May by conducting underground nuclear tests. In recent months, it has defined itself with steps to try to further open India's economy to foreign investors, notably in the state-run insurance sector, to lower trade barriers, to cut food subsidies to people above the poverty line and to start a dialogue between Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif, the

prime minister of Pakistan. The rise of a Congress-led government, heavily dependent on support from splintered Communist parties, would probably slow down liberaliz-

ation of the economy. American diplomats say a Congressled government would also be much less likely to sign the nuclear test ban treaty by the September deadline. In past years, Congress had taken the position that India should not sign the treaty until the major nuclear powers agreed to take definite steps to disarm their own nu-

Since India conducted its nuclear tests. Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh and the U.S. deputy secretary of state, Strobe Talbott, have had eight rounds of arduous, painstaking talks that only recently seemed to be heading toward a successful conclusion, which in American eyes included India's signing the

Mr. Singh and Mr. Talbott have developed a close rapport in what the Americans describe as the most sustained, high-level talks between the United States and India since India gained its independence in 1947.

"We'll have to start all over again, or at least give the new government awhile to sort itself out," n frustrated American diplomat said. "In the best case, it will take several months before we can get moving.

Despite Mrs. Gandhi's confident statements Wednesday, it was not clear who was providing the 272 votes she claimed to have. The opposition had only 270 votes on Saturday, and two small leftist parties with seven of those votes have vowed they will never support a Congress-led alliance.

The Congress Party may well be counting on defections from the Hindu nationalist-led coalition. By Wednesday, two members of Parliament had already switched sides, and a small party from the state of Kashmir with two votes was hinting that it may support a new government

Arjun Singh, a Coogress Party strategist and spokesman, said Tuesday that the 'migratory hirds' would only begin to roost in their new home once the voting season arrived. Mrs. Gandhi's terview with a Melbourne radio station A student in Jakarta protesting Wednesday against widespread violence. remarks Wednesday may have been de-

signed to convince wavering parliamen-tarians who had been allied with the Hindu nationalists that they should hitch themselves to a new winning side. As the battle for power inched closer

to a conclusion, the tone of criticism from members of the Bharatiya Janata Party grew more shrill and bitter. Passage of the 1999-2000 budget, scheduled for adoption Wednesday by consensus of all political parties, was delayed because of disruptive, angry exchanges in

Parliament had to be adjourned four times after irate members of the Hindu nationalist coalition stormed to the well and shouted that the Congress Party was trying to lure away the votes of members of their alliance with unfair "horse-trad-

Mrs. Gandhi tartly replied, "It is the habit of the BJP to accuse others of what they have been indulging in." Congress Party leaders want Mrs.

Gandhi, the widow of one prime minister. Rajiv Gandhi, and the daughter-inlaw of another, Indira Gandhi, to contique the dynastic reign, but she herself said Wednesday that any such decision was premature. "When the time comes, then we will see," she said.

Mrs. Gandhi, who only entered pol-

itics a year ago to head the foundering Congress Party, has had little experience in the wheeling and dealing that will be required to hold together a new government. Nor, party officials say, does this very private woman have a strong appetite for politicking that could tarnish her image as a woman above the fray. She may instead prefer to remain as

the party's leader until national elections are beld. If Congress substantially improves the 140 or so members it now has in Parliament, she might then choose to

#### BRIEFLY

#### Hong Kong Refuses to Admit 11 Exiles To Mark 10th Anniversary of Crackdown

HONG KONG - Immigration officials in Hong Kong have refused entry to Il exiled mainland Chinese dissidents.

Local activists here had invited the exiles to the region to commemorate the violent crackdown 10 years ago against students near Tiananmen Square in

A government statement issued Wednesday said the applications had been "carefully considered with our established immigration policies and procedure," as well as on their own merits. Officials could not comment on individual cases, the statement said.

Hundreds of activists were killed when Beijing ordered troops into the capital to restore order. Many were thrown into prison after the crackdown. Activists of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China had invited the exiles — including prominent former student leaders such as Wang Dan, who is based in Boston — to mark the anniversary of the bloody incident on June 4, 1989.

The activist group, which Beijing has labeled a subversive organization, has been organizing annual fund raisers, marches and vigils.

#### Direct U.S. Food Aid Offered North Korea

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The United States is offering its first direct aid to North Korea, promising tons of wheat and seeds to the famine-stricken country, the UN World Food Program said Wednesday.

Washington's first direct agreement between the two countries will provide about 100,000 tons of food aid, primarily wheat, and about 1,000 tons of potato seeds through U.S. nongovernmental organizations, said Abby Spring, spokeswoman for the UN agency.

The United States traditionally has sent hundreds of thousands of tons of

food to North Korea through the World Food Program and other international The first direct shipment, of potato seeds, is expected to take place in May.

A small portion of the food aid will be borrowed from UN food stocks, a UN The food and seeds are part of a deal reached in March between the United States and North Korea to give U.S. inspectors access to an underground

complex Washington suspects of being a nuclear weapons site. The United States told North Korea it was willing to demonstrate what an

improvement in relations would look like by helping Pyongyang develop a pilot project to increase potato production and by providing food aid, a State

#### Afghan City Captured, Taleban Foes Say

KABUL — Afghanistan's beleaguered opposition claimed Wednesday to have captured the capital of central Barnian Province from the Taleban

"I am inside the city and we are in complete control," said Haji Mohammed Mohaqiq, leader of the opposition alliance's Shiite Muslim partner, Hezb-i-Wahadat. He spoke in a satellite telephone interview from Bamian. The Taleban denied defeat at Bamian, the headquarters of the Hezb-i-

Wahadat until the Taleban seized the city last year. The city, famous for its giant standing Buddhas, is strategic because of its proximity to Kabul, 100 kilometers (60 miles) to the east

Fighting around Bamian has been intense in recent days, with hundreds of refugees fleeing for Kabul. Residents reported heavy bombing by Taleban jets. an opposition spokesman said.

## Explosives Ruled Out in China Jet Crash

BEUING — Investigators searching through the wreckage of a Korean Air cargo jet that crashed last week near Shanghai, killing eight people, have ruled out explosives as the cause, officials said Wednesday.

They said that the investigators — from China, South Korea and the United States — had also established that the MD-11's radar and weather protection equipment and the traffic control situation were all normal at the time of the

But rescue workers have found only fragments of the flight data recorder, or "hlack box," which might have contained vital information on the last moments of the aircraft's flight.

(AFP)

#### For the Record

Pakistan's election commissioner will take evidence Saturday in a move toward ousting Benazir Bhutto, the former prime minister, and her husband from Parliament, officials said Wednesday. Both have been convicted on corruption charges and sentenced to five years in prison each. Miss Bhutto, now in London, is unlikely to appear in person.

readuring a quick visit to the one-room is a commercial purpose that Seoul a very good understanding about Kobuilding astride the North-South line officials view as an integral part of rea's economy but may also have built where negotiators have exchanged their efforts at persuading the world of up international confidence.

TIMOR: Indonesian Military Pledges to Enforce New Peace Pact

and "turning a blind eye" to some of their activities. Still, the brutal excesses of the militias in East Timor and the international condemnation of their actions by the United States, European Union members and others providing vital aid to Indonesia appear to have strengthened the hand of Mr. Habibie and moderate military lead-

ers such as General Wiranto. Mr. Habibie has pledged to honor his

that some elements of the armed forces had been "aiding and abetting" the anti-independence militias in the territory tralian new spapers reported Wednesday. Mr. Habibie told a group of Australian editors visiting Jakarta that be had pro-

posed that five nations - Australia, the clear stockpiles. United States, Japan, the Philippines, and Germany representing the European Union - should coordinate preparations for the UN-supervised ballot.

In a separate move to ease simmering regional tensions. Parliament passed a bill Wednesday giving provinces more



## **EUROPE/INTERNATIONAL**

## Fingerpointing in El Al Crash

Finding of Laxity Is Said to Focus on 2 Dutch Officials

AMSTERDAM — A parliamentary in-guiry into the Netherlands' worst air disaster implicates the government of Prime Minister Wim Kok and sharply criticizes Health Min-ister Els Borst for her role in the fiery 1992

crash, a newspaper reported Wednesday.

A 350-page report written by the parliamentary commission, to be released publicly Thursday, says the response from the entire government was slow and insufficient but singles out Ms. Borst and other health service officials, said the daily De Telegraaf, which obtained a copy.

Former Transport Minister Annemarie Jorritsma is less harshly criticized in the report, De Telegraaf said. A spokesman for the parliamentary commission declined to comment on the newspaper's account

In its report, De Telegraaf quoted a source as saying: "Jorritama's work was also messy and she will be firmly dealt with, but Borst was of another caliber. Her work involved

The paper did not identify the source but described the person as "very closely involved" in the investigation.

The inquiry report follows 10 weeks of hearings into the October 1992 crash of the El Al Boeing 747-200 cargo jet that smashed into an Amsterdam apartment building shortly after takeoff for Tel Aviv, killing at least 43

people and injuring dozens.

The real toil from the crash and the ensuing inferno may never be known because many residents of the southern Amsterdam neighborhood, Bijlmer, were illegal, unregistered

In the almost seven years since the disaster. rescue workers and hundreds of residents of Bijlmer have reported chronic health complaints ranging from neurological disorders to sea. The illnesses have been linked to the

plane and its cargo.

Last year, a Dutch newspaper discovered freight papers that listed DMMP, a com- findings in late May. (AP, Reuters)

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ponent of sarin nerve gas, in the cargo. Israel confirmed the shipment of 190 liters (50 galloas) of DMMP, but said the material was nontoxic-and was to have been used to test filters that protect against chemical

Debate has also raged over the health implications of exposure to depleted uranium, which was used as wing ballast in the aircraft. Only 152 kilograms (about 335 pounds) of the 282 kilograms of the uranium on board were recovered after the crash and fire. Depleted uranium burns at high temperatures and can

get into the air as dangerous dust.

The report says that an earlier reaction by the government to health complaints from survivors could have prevented a worsening of their symptoms, De Telegraaf said.

The newspaper added that the report contains accusations that reach Mr. Kok, who took office two years after the crash. The prime minister admitted during his testimony that the government had met only five times to discuss the crash.

The newspaper said the lack of coordination by the government also hampered efforts to obtain documentation about the cargo, which was still largely unknown when the

when was sun largery unknown when me inquiry started this year.

Mr. Kok testified in March that El Al had stonewalled the government.

Dutch politicians initially said the plane had been transporting flowers and perfume, but it was later revealed that the cargo inchuded military equipment. It was not until last year that Israel confirmed that DMMP had

en part of the cargo.
"There should have been close coopersaying. "Jorrisms did a poor job with the cargo documentation and Borst failed to take action because she was waiting for those papers. That is unacceptable, but who should ike the blame is up to Parliament.

Parliament is set to debate the report's



RED HOT SQUARE - Municipal workers, foreground, in Moscow on the first warm day after a bitter winter. The temperature reached 20 centigrade.

#### BRIEFLY

#### Russian Vote Backs Prosecutor

MOSCOW - Russia's upper house of Parliament voted Wednesday to keep the country's top prosecutor in his post, dealing another blow to President Boris Yeltsin, who has been trying to oust him for months.

After a rancorous, all-day session, the opper house, the ederation Council, voted 79-61 to allow Prosecutor General Yuri Skuratov to keep his job. The house is the only

body anthorized to fire the prosecutor general.

Mr. Skuratov has been investigating alleged bribe-taking
by Kremlin officials. Kremlin officials and the company
have denied any wrongdoing, and no one has been

Mr. Yeltsin argued that Mr. Skuratov should be fired on moral grounds after the release of a videotape allegedly showing the prosecutor having sex with two prostitutes.

#### Tajiks Suspect Hijacking Prank

nesday whether a Tajik airliner had been hijacked or wheth-

er a passenger was just playing a prank.
The Tajikistan Airlines flight, en route from Dushanbe in
Central Asia to Moscow, landed in the central Russian city of Samara after the flight crew radioed that the plane had been hijacked, officials said. Crew members said they were given a note saying the plane had been wired with explosives and they had been ordered to fly to Iran.

But after the plane landed at Samara, all of the 136 passengers and crew members left the Tupolev 154. When security forces searched the plane, they found it was empty. Officials were taking bandwriting samples to see whether a passenger had written the hijacking note.

#### Danes Challenged on Can Ban

BRUSSELS — The European Commission on Wed-oesday said it would take Denmark before the European Court of Justice over the country's ban on canned drinks. The decision was made after Copenhagen refused last ear to change the law on drinks packaging. Currently, Denmark demands that domestically made drinks be sold

only in reusable bottles.

# Holbrooke Faces 2d Inquiry, This Time Over Speech Fees

Probe Covers His Time as Special Balkans Envoy

By Philip Shenon
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON - The State Department inspector general has opened a new investigation of Richard Holbrooke, President Bill Clinton's nominee as chief U.S. diplomat to the United Nations, and is examining whether gotiate a peace agreement in Kosovo. he improperly accepted thousands of dollars.

was near up for nearly eight months by an ethics investigation by the Justice Department and the State Department. That inquiry ended in February, when Mr. Holbrooke agreed to pay \$5,000 to settle civil charges that he had from accepting outside compensation "that violated lobbying laws in his contacts with the relates to the employee's official duties." U.S. Embessy in South Korea after having

resigned from the State Department.

The latest inquiry was prompted by the publication in March of an opinion piece in The Washington Post by Philip Christenson, a former congressional official, government of ficials said. Mr. Christenson questioned whether it was right for Mr. Holbrooke and

the Balkans in October, he continued to collect speaking fees.

In November, he delivered a speech at Stanford University, for which he was paid \$16,000. According to an article in the university newspaper, Mr. Holbrooke used the speech to discuss his work in trying to ne-

He gave at least two other paid speeches for making speeches about the Balkans when after his appointment as a special envoy, to the he was a special eavily to the regions. It is supported as a special eavily, to the he was a special eavily to the regions. It is section in the special eavily to the regions. It is supported in the region of the section of the special eavily, to the he was a special eavily to the head of the head

is whether the acceptance of the speaking fees violates federal ethics rules that bar government employees, including special envoys,

Mr. Holbrooke said through a spokeswoman that he had no comment on the inquiry. According to recent disclosure statements filed by Mr. Holbrooke with the government Ethics Office, he received \$205,000 in speaking fees last year, in addition to his \$1,153,000

salary as an investment banker. He also received \$166,000 in advances for other part-time envoys to receive money for speeches related to their government work.

After the State Department formally named Mr. Holbrooke as an unpaid special envoy for partment in 1996.



## 5 Killed in Jamaica Protests Sparked by Fuel-Price Rise

KINGSTON, Jamaica ---Demonstrations against a sharp increase in gasoline prices showed no signs of abating Wednesday as the death toll from violent protests rose to five.

One of the victims, a 28year-old woman, was shot and killed by a private se-curity guard who was fending

Four other people suffering from gunshot wounds died within 24 hours at Kingston Public Hospital. The demonstrations started

at the end of last week, with crowds looting stores and stoning motorists. On Wednesday, protester set up flaming barricades in the streets of Kingston, and

bour Party was planning a march in the capital.

The army has been deployed to prevent unrest, and reservists have been ordered to report to their barracks. Scores of people have been

A representative of Kingston Public Hospital said the hospital had admitted 23 people in the past 24 hours, most of them suffering from gunshot wounds and some in critical condition, including a police officer who was shot in the face Monday.

An overnight curiew failed to halt the protests, which have already affected tourism to the Caribbean island. Air Jamaica said four of its scheduled flights from Florida to Jamaica would go

shead Wednesday, but it can-

time flights because of the unrest American Airlines said it had canceled all flights

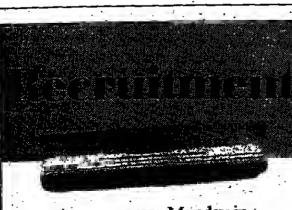
to Kingston. British Airways canceled a flight from London to Kingston on Tuesday on the advice of the British High Commission, the airline said. No flight was scheduled for Wednesday, and a decision was to be made later on whether the flight scheduled for Thursday

would depart.
The U.S. Embassy was

to stay home or in their hotels. Cruise-ship passengers were told to stay out of the northern resort town of Ocho Rios, and some hotels in Montego Bay reported that tourists were un-

able to reach the airport. The protests were sparked by the government's decision to increase gasoline taxes, which caused prices to rise from \$1.55 a gallon to \$2. The demonstrators also oppose a 30 percent increase in the cost of licensing vehicles. (AP, Reuters)

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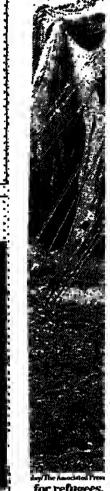
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Probably the basi been in the world.

No. 36,128

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# When Children Kill: The Big 'Why?'

The tragedy unfolded in images that bave become eerily familiar: Panicked groups running for cover, sobbing teenagers telling how-they dodged the hulanother for comfort.

Underneath, a question as chilling as the scenes of televised misery: Why are what is behind the shootings; they have America's schools turning into killing many. Lack of supervision, accessible

"Anybody who has children, anybody who doesn't have children should be frightened about what this bodes in a society where we have so many things and so much, and yet we can create monsters that can go in and shoot 25 peers," said Gery LeGagnoux, a teacher and psychologist at the University of California at Los Angeles.

boy in Pearl, Mississippi, was accused of killing his mother and shooting nine students, two fatally, at his high school. the killings were a stunning anomaly.

By Tuesday, when two trench-coated young men swept through their high maximum amount of attendon they do

Other recent shootings involving

May 21, 1998: Two teen-agers are

killed and more than 20 people wounded when a 15-year-old boy

opens fire at high school in Spring-

field, Oregon. His parents are killed at their home. He is awaiting trial. "I had no other choice," he told the police. May 19, 1998: Three days before

his graduation, an 18-year-old honor student opens fire in a parking lot at a high school in Fayetteville, Tennes-

see, killing a classmate who was dat-ing his former girlfriend. He is await-

April 24, 1998: A science teacher is

shot and killed in front of students at

an eighth-grade dance at a banquet

hall in Edinboro, Pennsylvania. A 14-

year-old student awaits trial. The

people wounded at a middle school in killing himself.

motive is unclear

A Rogue's Gallery at Schools

March 24, 1998: Four girls and a kill 16 kindergarten children and their teacher are shot and killed and 10 teacher in Dunblane. Scutland, before

students seemed far less abnormal.

Springfield, Oregon; Jonesboro, Arkansas; West Paducah, Kentucky lets, distraught parents clutching at one five mass shootings at schools in two

> Experts do not have one answer for guns, permissive or absent parents, school officials who fail to act on warning signs, a culture redolent with violence - all are cited as cootributing factors.

"These kids have oever learned how to solve problems," said Bill Reisman, a criminologist who has advised officials at several school districts where there alifornia at Los Angeles. were earlier shootings. "They have an instant answer, and that's a gun."

missions, as seems to have been the case

Tuesday, he said. now the solution, and in order to get the

Junesboro, Arkansas, when two boys, 11 and 13, upen fire from the woods.

The police have not suggested a

motive. Both suspects have been con-

victed in juvenile court of murder and can be held up to age 21.

Dec. 1, 1997: Three students are

killed and five nthers wounded at a high school in West Paducah, Ken-tucky. One girl is left paralyzed. A 14-year-old student pleads guilty but

mentally ill to murder and is serving life in prison. When asked why he did

Oct. 1, 1997: A 16-year-old boy in Pearl, Mississippi, is accused of

killing his mother, then going to his high school and shooting nine stu-dents, two fatally. He has been sen-

tenced to life in prison. The alleged

mastermind of the attack awaits trial.

March 13, 1996: Thomas Hamilton

uses four legally owned handguns to

kill 16 kindergarten children and their

it, he said he did not know.

school in Littleton, Colorado, slaying these hizarre, heinous crimes," Mr. 13, the phenomenon of students killing Reisman said.

Violent movies and music can add "fuel to a fire," he added, but "we can't blame things. People are responsible." Underpinning these problems is a so-ciety in which family and community

ties are unraveling.
"It used to be when I was a kid, if I did something wrong down the street, before I got home that neighbor would have called my parents," Mr. Reisman said. "These days they're afraid they're going to get sned."

Peter Blauvelt, president of the Na-tional Alliance for Safe Schools, a consulting firm, said it was oearly inipossible to find immediate answers to a tragedy like the one in Littletoo, a suburb of Denver.

Increasingly, the shootings are soicide assistions, as seems to have been the case useday, he said.

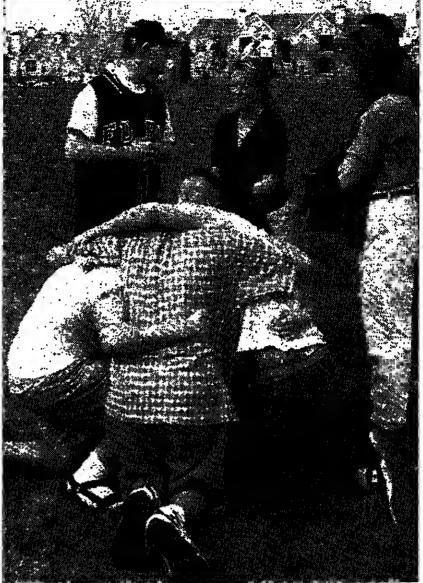
"Most of them believe that death is "I think one of the things we are suffering from is trying to rationalize what was really an irrational act," Mr. Blauvelt said. "This is a huge tragedy with a tremendous amount of ramifications." cations in the United States, and the whole world for that matter.

But Mr. Blauvelt said steps could be taken, such as keeping a closer eye on class misbehavior and listening to stu-

In the latest shootings, students said the gunmen apparently belonged to a clique of outcasts who wore long hlack treach coats, boasted of owning guns and disliked hlacks, Hispanics and athletes.
"My guess is that there was conver-

sation between and among kids about what was going to happen." Mr. Blauvelt said. "And no one listened to it." Mr. Reisman had the same advice for

school officials: Pay attention: "You're going to have a lot more," he said. "I was involved in Pearl. Every time, this has escalated. The kids have



Students at Columbine High School kneeling in a circle after they escaped.

# **Shooters Belonged to Clique of Outcasts**

wore black treoch coats and spent their and in political tracts and other elements entire adolescence deep inside the mor-ose subculture of Gothic fantasy, their coats serve as a symbol for things from fellow students said.

Students at the Littletoo, Colorado, after killing 15 of their schoolmates and commemorations among both neo-teachers, were a constant target of de-Nazis and parts of the Gothic scene. risioo for at least four years.

had a confrontation last July 4 with the two shooters firing their guns re-shooters and several other members of peatedly, and she watched as her fellow shooters and several other members of the "Trench Coat Mafia," the hlack-clad teenagers' name for their clique. "They're into anarchy. They're white was real, even if she had had a hint of supremacists and they're into Nostrada-

Several students said the shooters, today putted a snorgun ou my manage identified as Eric Harris and Dylan Kless once He said he was sick of being made a furni over the administration's early bold, were deeply into death stalking, fun of said he was sick of being made response to reports of Chinese atomic, reading and dreaming about it.

Black trench coats are a consistent, friends tried to caum the boy and then ran ligence analysts initially detected the theft in 1995, and senior White House theft in 1995, and senior White House (Sandy).

come a fascination of many American casional Confederate flag patch were the oratories until nearly two years later. high schoolers, some of whom simply only departure from the dark theme. dress and paint their fingernails black while others immerse themselves in a Mafia as a group of perhaps six to 10 pseudo-medieval world of dark images.

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG - The brutal im-

age that South African police earned

during the days of apartheid was revived

when the BBC aired news footage of savage police assaults that included a

Nearly five years after this racially

fractious nation discarded apartheid for

democracy and constitutionally man-

dated human rights protection, the beat-

ings of four hlack carjacking suspects by

occurred in January and were televised

this week, shocked human rights ac-

The nation's police commissioner,

George Fivaz, questinned the police's

rights" and the collective mental health

of a force that seemed to be collapsing

under the immense pressure of the work.

pended and are under criminal inves-

On the face of it, the case appears to parallel the 1991 beating of Rodney

King by Los Angeles police, which sparked n riot, and the fatal shooting this

year of Amadou Diallo hy New York

police, which brought weeks of daily

protests. But in a sign of the broad-

based, cross-racial anger about crime

here, the assaults drew praise from some

members of a public weary of living

Although crime long has been con-

sidered one of South Africa's most

pressing problems, the oation was

stunned recently by the carjack murder of a popular school principal in Johan-

nesburg, the gang rape of a United Na-tions official in Pretoria and the fatal

stabhing of a well-known photojourn-

alist in Cape Town. South Africa's 1997

under virtual siege.

shocking disregard for basic human

at least six white policemen, events that

coats serve as a symbol for things from Hitler and the Nazis to mass murder to suicidal fantasies. Tuesday was Hitler's

When the young men started shooting "They're basically outcasts, Gothic Tuesday, a 10th-grader, Mindy Pollock, cople," said Peter Maher, a junior who was in the school parking lot. She saw

students dropped to the pavement.

She said she could oot believe that it mus stuff and Doomsday." same boys. "The one with the handgun
Several students said the shooters, today pulled a shotgun on my friends

at oearby Leaman Elementary School.

"They are just all hiding," Kristie

West said, waiting. "She said she's O.K.,

"They are just all hiding," Kristie

Wastiand costumes of a scene that Mastia members wore their coats every day, no matter the weather, even in class. They dressed in black from head to toe April 1996. - military berets, T-shirts, jeans, com-About 2:45 P.M., after three hours in Dongeons and Dragons, Gothic has be- bat boots. Red shoelaces and the oc- increase, security at the national lab.

Stodents described the Trench Coat students who were constantly being On Weh sites featuring poetry called ribbed by the school's athletes and other, "The Writtee Work of the Trenchcoat" more popular cliques.

## learned from the previous one."

By Marc Fisher

The shooters who turned Columbine High School into an unspeakable land-scape of carnage were members of a small clique of outcasts who always and other macabre

#### STUDENTS: I Saw a Kid on the Ground and He Couldn't Move'

Continued from Page 1

A boy suddenly burst into the room, hysterical, saying something about a gunman, about shooting in the cafeteria.

door with two desks and a filing cabinet.

Everything was shaking."

"That's when everyone started panicking again," said Kendra, another se-oior. "There were a lot of people hylike zomhies, they didn't say anything, they were io complete shock. I was in shock. I didn't believe it was happening.

'I'm just staying underneath this k," he whispered. "I'm staying up

black masks." In the office of the choir room, the heat

shoulder to shoulder. It got so hot in there that people were starting to pass

ont. We took the panels off the ceiling so

The room held a single telephooe, but the studeots were unable to reach 911, possibly because that option had been disabled to stop students from making prank calls. But eventually a student reached a family acquaintance who worked in law enforcement. That persoo relayed the location of the trapped stu-dents to the SWAT team.

The parents raced to the school. Kamii Vest's parents, Kristie and Dale, found themselves behind a yellow police tape

Another gave an eyewimess report: hiding. They were told oot to make any the office, the students in the choir room

heard an officer outside the door. Kendra said the officer announced, "This is the Denver police." He told them to come out in groups of 10.

officer said.

The killers went to the library, their

Joshua Lapp, a sophomore, told re-porters: 'They were laughing about it They'd shoot somebody, they'd laugh, they'd gaggle, you'd hear a shot go off, you'd hear someone yell and scream, another shot go off and they'd yell and scream, another shot go off and they'd yell and scream, another shot and there would be

the hlack kid because he was hlack. And

equipment room. Finally someone anged on the door, the police.

They told us to unlock the door and put our hands above our heads," Kimberly said. "It was scary, because it was like a whole SWAT team. They told us to The officers involved have been susturn around and get on our knees and put our hands over our head. Then they told each one of us, one at a time, to stand up, and patted us all down to make sure we weren't carrying any weapons.'

The students and teachers were herded from the huilding in small groops. They were told to keep their hands oo

The tension did not easily break: Twenty-three students were in the hospital, 11 in critical or serious coodition. Authorities said that 15 people, including the gunmen, were dead. Police handcuffed and led away a student believed to

be bombs all over the building.

South African Beatings

The police on the streets today are, hy and large, the same ones who just a few years ago were serving a white-minority government that ruled through the apartheid system of racial separation. Under apartheid, brute force was the order of findings of the 1997 reports from the the day; professional policing was un-

police officer stuhhing out a cigarette on Despite the transition to democracy,. police abuse has remained a feature of Sooth African life, according to the In-dependent Complaints Directorate, to an administration official. which monitors and investigates the police. Deaths in police custody or as a result of police action in South Africa are among the highest in the world, with

ahout 700 dying each year. This most recent case of police abuse suggests that the reforms and retraining instituted since apartheid's end have not taken full effect, human rights advocates say. Although the offenders in this case are white men, who acted with apparent pride in the presence of a foreign TV crew, ahuse is practiced by officers of has spent his entire career on nonseveral other groups.

'Historically, police have been a law' o themselves,' said Neville Melville, director of the police complaints agency. He added, "That mentality permeates." He ooted, however, the 1997 CIA and Energy Department, that younger police recruits show signs and respect for basic rights.

gives no indication that police were taking fire in return.

In the other chase, one of the cars Mr. Vine says, the occupants appear to answer any questions." The police lay about the theft of the W-88 design. one man oo the pavement and strike him repeatedly with a rifle butt.

That man later died at a hospital. A

## China Stole U.S. Secrets, **New Study** Concludes

By James Risen and Jeff Gerth New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — A comprehensive new analysis by U.S. intelligence officials has concluded that China stole design information related to the United States' most advanced nuclear warhead from a government nuclear weapons

laboratory, government officials said.

The intelligence report was expected to be presented to the Clinton adminto be presented to the Clinton admin-istration and Congress on Wednesday. Previously, the White House, citing other intelligence reports, had said that the evidence of Chinese atomic es-pionage was less cooclusive. Although Energy Department offi-cials have raised alarms about evidence of Chinese espionage at the national

cials have raised alarms about evidence of Chinese espionage at the national weapons labs since 1996, a 1997 report by the CIA was used by the White House to downplay the Energy officials' conclusions in the matter, officials said. President Bill Clinton also said as recently as last month, "It is my understanding that the investigation has not yet determined for sure that espionage occurred." pionage occurred."

In the new assessment, the intelligence community reports oo damage done to national security from what it

says is Chinese nuclear spying.

The report examines a key finding of

a select congressional committee that has investigated allegations of illicit transfers of high technology to China.

That committee, led by Representative Christopher Cox, a California Republican, embraced the findings of Energy Department, intelligence. Energy Department intelligence analysts who had concluded that China stole design data from the W-82 warhead from the Los Alamos laboratory in New Mexico in the 1980s and that the theft was critical to Beijing's development of a modern, miniaturized nuclear war,

U.S. officials said that the new intelligence analysis includes a broad ex-amination of the development of China's nuclear weapons capabilities, over the last few decades.

It determined that Beijing benefited from espionage through the theft of W. 88 design data from Los Alamos, But it also found that China obtained some sensitive ooclear data from nonsecret sources, including academic exchanges, and inadvertent leaks of information by

The oew study comes in the midst of officials, including Samuel (Sandy) Berger, now the national security adviser, were first briefed on the matter in,

Bot the White House did not move to After receiving more detailed evidence of Chinese spying in the summer of 1997, the National Security Council sought a quick, narrowly focused analysis from the CIA and used it to cast. doubt oo the troobling conclusions. reached by Energy Department analysts, officials said.

Gary Samore, a senior council of 7 ficial, relied on that CIA analysis in September 1997 as the basis for his report to Mr. Berger that the evidence of Chinese espionage was less conclusive than the Energy Department had said, a

White House official said.
At the time, Mr. Samore and Mr. Berger were deeply involved in planning the agenda of a U.S.-Chinese summit meeting in which relations between

the two countries were improved. In recent weeks, the White House, itself has examined whether Mr. Samore accurately portrayed for Mr. Berger the said. Mr. Berger has been told that Mr. Samore overstated the degree to which the CIA 1997 analysis cast doubt oo the

A National Security Council spokesman, David Leavy, said Mr. Berger had the utmost confidence in Mr. Samore's abilities, but he declined to discuss the nature of the discussions between the two men in 1997.

"The NSC, from Mr. Berger on down, viewed this as a very serious matter then, and we view it as a very serious matter now," Mr. Leavy said. "Mr. Berger believes Gary Samore is an enormously dedicated professional who proliferation issues and enhancing the security of the American people, and

whose integrity is unquestioned." But senior intelligence officials now say that, while there were differences. reports came to generally similar conof understanding professional policing, clusions about the damage done by the

The videotaped assaults occurred Notra Trulock, an Energy Departafter two high-speed car chases. The ment intelligence official who was in BBC correspondent narrating the foot- charge of analyzing the espionage evage, Jeremy Vine, describes how, in an idence, told the Senate Armed Services, attempt to stop one of the cars, the police Committee last week that "even a cursopen fire "indiscriminately." The tape ory reading of the products of both agencies will show that in fact there are

The new study has looked at the issue; crashes. In the mangled, smoking hulk, more thoroughly at the urging of the Coxcommittee, which has written a stillbe unconscious and "are oot able to secret report that includes information-

munity's damage assessment could not be determined in advance of the schedpolice spokesman said it was not clear uled release Wednesday. Moreovert, whether the accident or the assault had much of the study will remain clas-

#### we could get more air in.' warming up, doing scales, an ordinary, routine, do-re-mi beginning to class. perventilating, and a lot of people were

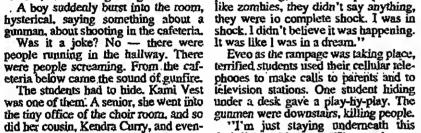
people running in the hallway. There

were people screaming. From the cafeteria below came the sound of gunfire. The students had to hide. Kami Vest did her cousin, Kendra Curry, and even-

"Yon coold feel it through the floor," Kami said. "Huge vibrations. Almost like it would be a small earthquake.

tually 60 students had crammed themselves into the room. They barricaded the here.

They were crying, praying. They didn't want to make any ooise. Then they heard seven more shots.



became oppressive. Some students began to faint. Several had asthma attacks. Kami Vest: "We were all standing



An agent of the Colorado Bureau of Investigation checking cars for explosives in the parking lot at Columbine High School on Wednesday.

Screaming and crying and telling him not to the hite prone, handcurred suspects, to shoot me and so he just shot the girl in the head in front of me, and then he shot peatedly bash an injured man, who later

## SCHOOL: Slaying of 15 Shocks Americans

.Continued from Page 1

a relatively quiet year in American schools. The death toll made it the worst school attack in U.S. history. In a March 1996 attack in Dunblane, Scotland, 16 children, their teacher and the gunman

made no arrests and filed nu charges. There is ou reason to believe there were any suspects other than those who are dead." said Steve Davis, a deputy in the Jefferson County sheriff's department. But John Stone, the Jeffersoo County sheriff, said that it appeared "very pos-

sible" that others had helped prepare the

In Littleton, the police said they had

than those at schools in other states last year that left dozens of studeots dead or Following the carnage, about 30 explosive devices were found in the family members assembled for prayers school, in the gunmen's vehicles parked or to speak to crisis counselors. nearby, and at their homes, Mr. Stone

"That much firepower and explosive devices and ammunition shows certainly quite a bit of planning," said Mr. Davis,

the deputy. It was not know where the two had obtained the weapons, but the authorities said that the bomh ingredients were readily available at local stores and bomb-making instructions can be found

Hours after SWAT teams, part of a home, get out of here."

force of more than 200 police, fire and rescue officials who converged on the area, finally cleared surviving students from the school and found the suspects dead in the library, a time bomb exploded, damaging the car of one of the gunmen.

Because of the residual danger, investigators were proceeding with ex-treme caution. As of midday Wednesday, all 15 bodies were still in the school. Many of the dead, the police said, were found sprawled or curied under desks or

in closets where they had sought to hide.

Other people in the school had survived

by using desks, chairs or filing cahinets to barricade themselves in rooms. Some fearful parents, their hopes nearly gone, had yet to hear official attack, which was far more elaborate confirmation of their children's fate. Family members gathered at a nearhy elementary school in hleak uncertainty. At a nearby church, 1,500 students and

Many students said they were aware said on CNN. Some were rigged as of the treoch coat group and were not surprised that its members were involved in the attack.

One fellow studeot, Brooks Brown, told a televisioo interviewer that Mr. Harris, whom he described as an acquaintance, had skipped a test Tuesday, and that when Mr. Brown asked him about it later, Mr. Harris said, doesn't matter any more."

He said Mr. Harris then told him: Brooks, I like you, I like you. Now, go

"Get down on the ground; these people are still in the building," the

Students were hiding under the desks, but the gunnen found them.

A traumatized girl, unidentified, wept uncootrollahly as she described oo televisioo what happened: "He came into the library and shot everybody around me. Then he put a gun to my head and asked if we all wanted to die and that he was going to kill us if we were of color

he shot him in the face." Eventually the two gunmen were dead, having turned their weapons on themselves, the police said. In the library, surrounding the bodies of the at-tackers, were the bodies of 10 of their

victims. "It appears to be a suicide mission," Sheriff John Stone said. Kimberly Lorenz, a senior, hid with a dozen students and a teacher in a cramped

their heads, as though they were all suspects. They were frisked, questioned, and offered medical care. Then they were bused to the Learnan school to be reunited with their families.

be a friend of the gunmen. At 6:15 in the evening, police found an explosive device in a car in the school murder rate was 52 people per 100,000, compared with a U.S. rate of 6.8 the parking lot. They feared there might still

Jargets

very few areas of disagreements."

The details of the intelligence com-

# Alliance Summit to Focus on Use of Ground Troops and Oil Cut-Off

By John Vinocur

PARIS - NATO leaders will confront derAKIS — NATO leaders will confront decisions on ground troops and pressing an oil embargo against Yngoslavia when their summit meeting in Washington begins Priday.

Washington would support revising a 1998 study on deployment of ground forces in Kosovo if NATO's commander and the secretary-general, Javier Solana Madariaga, call for it, the White House spokesman said.

White House spokesman said.

If the military command and the secretary-general "believe that it's prudent to update the assessment based on the changing circumstances on the ground, we would support that, "the White House spokesman, Joe Lockhart, told reporters. In its October study, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization concluded that a ground operation in Kosovo would require hundreds of thousands of thousands.

Mr. Lockhart, quoted by Reuters, denied that revising the study would constitute a change in policy. "That's updating an assessment, it's not

changing policy, it's not committing ground troops should they go forward with this," he said.

A discussion on the use of ground troops in Kosovo before a peace agreement, both the most politically charged issue for the alliance and the take place during the three days of meetings, a spokesman for Prime Minister Tony Blair told

reporters in London. The summit participants, he said, also would be looking at the situation in the areas neighboring Kosovo such as Macedonia and Albania, where current NATO troop strength is 18,000.

But there was no suggestion from the prime minister's office of the circumstances that might bring NATO troops into Yngoslav fire. For all the attention focused on ground troops' possible deployment, there was no indication given of the stage in the conflict at which they might be used. For the time being, there was little to suggest that NATO's air war strategy was about to change

President Jacques Chirac of France, meanwhile, called for the air campaign to be in-

"Massacres, rape, pillaging, torching of vil-lages and an exodus of families who have been separated, that is the action of the Serb authorities and it must stop," Mr. Chirae said Wednesday

most vital in terms of its military success, will night.

We must intensify the strikes, use additional "We must intensify the strikes, use additional terms of targets whose means and enlarge the number of targets whose destruction will deal a blow to Serb forces and the functioning of the Serb regime," he added. "That is the position I will adopt in Wash-

> At the White House, the national security adviser, Samuel (Sandy) Berger, told reporters, "I am sure the full range of issues involving Kosovo will be discussed, but I believe that the consensus in NATO is to stay the course."

> These remarks, a war-room atmosphere that was expected to characterize the weekend meeting on the alliance's 50th anniversary, and increasing talk in the U.S. Congress about a ground component provided the background in Washington for a report that Mr. Blair would tell President Bill Clinton on Thursday that NATO

must begin moving toward a ground offensive.

The London newspaper The Guardian described Mr. Blair as believing a "ground assault" was necessary sooner rather than later if NATO is to reach its goals in Yugoslavia within a time frame acceptable to public opinion. The story said that the United States, Britain and France "accept that they should formally begin planning for the deployment of NATO ground troops ahead of any settlement with Belgrade."

The question nagging most at the meeting of the 19 allied leaders was whether they could continue to rely oo air strikes alone to end the Kosovar tragedy while the Milosevic regime gave only limited signs of wavering and continued its murderous policies in Kosovo, Estimates of bow long it would take to prepare a ground force to enter Yugoslavia extend to late autumn. The debate on bow to stop oil supplies from

reaching Yugoslavia is a sensitive one because France, Italy and Greece were described as having legal reservations about a U.S. plan to stop tankers

Milosevic regime, the U.S. defense secretary, William Cohen, said, "I think we all understand that his resupply of fuel has to be stopped and we will take measures to achieve that. Acting col-lectively, we will do that."

As expected, Russia declined an invitation to attend the eeremonies. But both Mr. Clinton and Mr. Blair made statements emphasizing Russia's importance, as if they were seeking to calm its irritations over NATO's role in Yngoslavia. The president said that a free and united Europe "will not succeed unless it embraces a partnership with democratic Russia. And it will not succeed traless it is embraced by Russia. That is the kind of alliance that must and will emerge from the Washington summit,"

#### ■ NATO and 7 Balkan Nations to Meet

The leaders of the 19 NATO member states and seveo Balkan countries will meet Sunday in Washington, an alliance spokesman, Jamie Shea, said dnesday. Agence France-Presse reported from en route to ports serving the Milosevic regime. Brussels. Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Alba Referring to the aim of a tightened embargo on the Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria will attend. Brussels. Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Albania,

## **NATO Raids Mostly Strike** » Serb Targets **Already Hit**

By Bradley Graham and John Lancaster Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON -- While NATO planes have flown thousands of missions over Yugoslavia in the course of a four-week bombing campaign, about 80 percent of the alliance's air strikes have been at sites targeted at least once

before, according to Pentagon officials. The officials said the additional strikes were often necessary because Serb-led Yngoslav forces had quickly rebuilt some military facilities and because sites such as ammunition and petroleum depots and radio relay stations had many elements that must be destroyed to put the entire site oot of action.

The high percentage of return bombing runs also indicates an operation confined to a discrete number of sites. By contrast, U.S. military and NATO spokesmen have tended to emphasize the gradually expanding list of targets, from air-defense and command installations at the start of the campaign to

tagon officials said, a large percentage of missions have consisted more of whittling away previous target sites than

of bitting new ooes. A senior Pentagon official said more bridges, communication lines and other sites had been added to the target list in the past week, and added that NATO and months." planned to attack whole new categories of tarrets in the next day or two.

But there still is a lot of effort being put into doing more damage to a number of the original sites we hit," the official said. "Even in the past week, on any given night, the percentage of restrikes might be from 50 to 60 percent" Officials said the estimates of ad-

ditional strikes excluded attacks in Kosovo on troop concentrations, where coming into the area." NATO planes have been given leeway to attack tanks and other military vehicles. on how to block oil shipments ar- approval by the United Nations.

Continued from Page 1

NATO officials asserted that the Bel-

The prime minister of Serbia, Mirko

Marianovie, condemned the attack as

having no military purpose. "This is yet

more evidence that the criminals target

■ U.S. Beefs Up Force in Albania

The United States rushed more troops

and equipment into Albania as border

clashes raised fears that the Balkans war

might expand, news agencies reported.

tank helicopter gunships, intended to

improve NATO's ability to strike Yugo-

slav ground forces in Kosovo, arrived in

Meanwhile, columns of several thou-

sand ethnic Albanian refugees were

pouring across Kosovo's border Wed-

nesday into neighboring Montenegro, whose population of 600,000 has swelled by more than 10 percent since

Aid officials scrambled to care for

NATO airpower blasted more than 20

targets, including the bridge near the village of Osmuznica village, 15 kilo-

meters (9 miles) west of Belgrade.

NATO says the bridges that were
struck Wednesday were military targets

because they could allow the resupply of

the Yugoslav Army in Kosovo from the

relatively prosperous northern Serbian province of Vojvodina.

ie Shea, said that, with recently delivered

double the number of targets it struck

Pextra aircraft, the alliance was hitting

The NATO civilian spokesman, Jam-

thousands of the newly arrived refugees n a remote village inside the Macedonian

the air strikes began March 24.

The first of two dozen Apache anti-

grade television building was a military target because it was a link in the city's

air defenses. But few here took this

NATO disclaimer at face value.

civilians," he said.

Tirana, Albania.

is only safe for pedestrians now, officials



An Austrian soldier searching refugees for weapons Wednesday as they entered a camp in Albania.

## Months' Needed to Stop Serbia's Oil

By Elizabeth Becker

ations at the start of the campaign to roads, bridges, industrial facilities and military vehicles in Kosovo.

Pentagon and NATO spokesmen have said that NATO planes bave struck about 200 rargets since March 24, when the bombing campaign began. Many of the targets have included multiple "aim points." such as several buildings in a single complex, and, as a result, Penderal points of the supply of first points. The such as several buildings in a single complex, and, as a result, Penderal points. The such as the such a New York Times Service months, if at all.

"It will take months at the very a NATO military official said. "Yes, the oil refineries are destroyed and so are some oil storage depots, but the Serbs will continue to have the fuel they need for months

Stopping the flow of fuel needed to run President Slobodan Milosevic's war machine has become a top goal of the alliance's air campaign. But Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said Tuesday that the diplomats coming to the NATO summit meeting in Washington this weekend had yet to agree on how to solve "the problem of oil

The immediate problem centers

in Belgrade a blow at Mr. Milosevic's

power structure. The strike left a gaping

hole on the first floor and plunged the

upper floors into flames that took fire-

fighters bours to extinguish. Deputy

Mayor Spasoje Krunic said there were

apparently no casualties:
"We are now striking at the very heart

of his hlood-stained regime," Defense Secretary George Robertson of Britain

declared, referring to Mr. Milosevic,

'and we'll do so again and again and

He called the building "one of the

nerve centers which plans the killing in

"Who gave NATO a license to kill?"

asked the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman, Nebojsa Vnjovic. "Who gave NATO a license to destruct and

The Yugoslav press agency Tanjug said NATO struck a compound Wed-

nesday near the Kosovo town of

Djakovica housing Serbian refugees

from the Bosnian and Croatian wars,

killing at least 10 people and wounding

16. There was no way to verify the

Milosevie's campaign to drive ethnic Albanians from Kosovo and have him

accept a peace deal agreed to in February

by ethnic Albanian negotiators.

Many in Kosovo, where 90 percent of

the 2 million prewar population was

ethnic Albanian, favor independence from Serbia, an option Mr. Milosevic has rejected. The 14-month conflict has

killed at least 2,000 people and driven more than 600,000 ethnic Albanians

nation's Supreme Defense Council on

Tnesday to declare a state of emergency,

saying the flood of refugees threatened

wounded in Macedonia on Tuesday

when Serbs hurled stones at French ve-

hicles in the village of Kuceviste, just

west of the capital, Skopje, NATO said

Two NATO soldiers were slightly

to upset Macedonia's ethnic balance.

The president of Macedonia asked his

from their homes.

The NATO air strikes aim to halt Mr.

destroy this beautiful country?"

KOSOVO: Political Center Hit in Belgrade

again.'

riving at the port of Bar in Monte-negro, one of two republics remaining in Yugoslavia, along with the larger Serbia. Since the air war began, an American analyst said Tuesday, eight to 10 oil tankers have docked at Bar and delivered 40,000 to 45,000 metric tons of refined fuel, or roughly 300,000 barrels.

Some of the tankers came from Bulgaria. lyst said. But the "biggest culprit" was a merchant tanker, the Kaliope, flying the Panamanian flag. It is a newcomer to the Adriatic Sea and has been operating along the coast and picking up cargo from other

Since NATO air strikes recently cut off the pipeline connecting Bar to Belgrade, the Yngoslav capital, the oil has had to be shipped overland for use by Mr. Milosevic's troops. At the insistence of the United States, the NATO allies are consid-

ering setting up a naval picket line outside Bar to prevent tankers from delivering oil. But European political leaders, especially the French, are worried that any naval blockade would widen the war and require

TIRANA, Albania - After a

week of delays, the first of 24 U.S. Apache attack helicopters arrived in Albania on Wednesday to bolster the firepower of NATO forces striking

Yugoslav targets, witnesses said. Several of the Apaches were spot-

ted flying into Rinas airport, the stag-

ing ground for troops and equipment

that will support the helicopters once

they go into action against Serbian armor in Kosovo. Witnesses said

that as many as six Apaches

swooped in under escort of more

criticized by military experts and ri-

diculed by media commentators.

Pentagon officials attributed the

delays to rain, mad and over-

the AH-64 gunships, which per-formed well as tank-killers in the

U.S. officials said this week that

crowding at Tirana's tiny airport.

than a dozen other helicopters. The Apaches' slow deployment from bases in Germany bad been

But as military experts point out, the problem is larger than the port of

Aware of the debate and the vul-nerability of Bar, Mr. Milosevic is already trying to bring oil in through other coastal ports, the American analyst said, and on overland routes through neighboring countries like

of ejecting Albanians from the Serbian province of Kosovo requires very little fuel compared with traditional military campaigns. And Serbian troops in Kosovo are dug in with stockpiles of food and supplies. including fuel.

Finally, even in classic air wars. trickiest endeavors.

While the allies have persuaded Croatia, a former Yugoslav republic. to cut off its pipeline to Serbia, Belgrade still receives fuel smuggled in from the Serbian area of Bosnia, another former republic, and from Bulgaria. With such porous horders, experts argue, the allied campaign to choke off the fuel supplies would be far more effective if ground troops were involved.

First Tank-Killer Copters Land in Albania

the attack a week after their arrival.

Times reported earlier from Tirana:

from the elite rapid-response force

bave begun arriving at the airport

here ahead of the first deployment of

not announced by the Pentagon.

quick-response force to a crisis any-

be, in effect, policemen far behind

the lines for the 48 Apache attack

helicopters called upon in this case

because theirs was the only unit that

could be deployed quickly enough to

But those arriving in Tirana will

The deployment of a battalion

kept on ready alert at all times as a close-in combat.

Apache helicopters.

where in the world.

protect the helicopters.

Hundreds of U.S. paratroopers

■ Elite Paratroopers Arrive

## NATO Sifts the Evidence

#### Reports of Alleged Kosovo War Crimes Handed to UN

By T. R. Reid Washington Post Service

LONDON — With the British government taking the lead, NATO bas begun focusing its attention on alleged atrocities against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, and Western leaders vowed to bring the political leaders responsible to trial before the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague.

The British foreign secretary, Robin Cook, said he would give United Nations prosecutors

Mr. Cook gave specifics of intelligence reports detailing more than 50 atrocities committed over the past month in Kosovo. "It is a rare step to release intelligence material" Mr. Cook said Tuesday. "We have taken it because we are determined that those responsible for mrning Kosovo into a

slaughterhouse should be brought to justice." The Foreign Office declined to make the material public, but Louise Arbour, a Canadian jurist who serves as chief prosecutor for the Hague tribunal, told British television that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had gathered "substantial evidence" of "war crimes of the greatest magnitude." Much of the evidence comes from the hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanian refugees who have been forced out of Kosovo to neighboring Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro, Serbia's sister republic in the Yugoslav Federation. Mr. Cook said that each of those refugees "has

been a potential witness to a war crime."

Another key source of information is reportedly a squad of undercover military in-telligence agents from Britain's Special Air Service who are said to have infiltrated Kosovo and other parts of Serbia in small groups over the past few weeks. Officials here have suggested that dozens of SAS members

The British government never confirms or denies where or whether SAS units are at work. Yugoslavia, staff, Sir Charles Guthrie, said that NATO intelligence on Yugoslav Army movements was "much better" than at the start of allied air strikes last month, thanks in part to new information relayed "from the ground."

The SAS units are said to be pinpointing Yugoslav troop concentrations and military installations, such as tank refueling stations cutting off fuel supplies is one of the and temporary bivouacs. They can then relay specific map coordinates by radio to help allied pilots find their targets.

But another potential use of undercover forces would be to gather information on strocities carried out by security forces in Kosovo. Mrs. Arbour said reports from undercover agents could be informative but might be difficult to introduce in court.

What we need to achieve," Mrs. Arbour said, "is developing access to products of intelligence efforts, including military intelligence, which are, of course, products that are

diers from the division's 3d Brigade,

second battalion of the 505th Para-

Despite the failure of the air

strikes to stop the Serbian campaign

to depopulate Kosovo - largely car-

ried out in small-scale tactics of a

bandful of armed, masked men ter-

rorizing villages - the NATO com-

mander, General Wesley Clark,

for first 24, then 48 Apache attack

The Apaches could operate either

on their own or in support of at-

tacking ground troops and can fire

their rockets st a target from as far as

The helicopters operate in tandem,

five kilometers (three miles) away.

with batteries of rockets with a 300-

kilometer range that are designed to

knock out air defenses before the

not standardly tendered, even in domestic courts. So I don't underestimate the chal-

Mrs. Arbour agreed with Mr. Cook that any prosecution should target any senior Yugoslav officials implicated in atrocities, "I believe the mandate of the tribunal is in fact to scrutinize personal criminal liability for war crimes at the highest level," she said. "I believe that's wby we were created, and not merely to bring to:

Mr. Cook gave specifics of a few of the atrocities for which his government has evidence: "The bodies of 24 Kosovar Albanians; found in and around a minibus riddled with bullets; one Albanian killed by grenades: thrown in a café; three dead ethnic Albanians found in a car ... all with gunshot wounds; three ethnic Albanians killed by a grenade;

thrown into a shop."
Yugoslav and Serbian officials have denied that atrocities have been committed in Kosovo. They say that ethnic Albanians have been killed during fighting initiated by separatist rebels.

## Fischer Warns **Greens Not to** Wreck Coalition

BONN - Foreigo Minister Joschka Fischer warned his pacifist Greens party Wednesday that the government coalition with the Social Democrats would collapse if they withdrew their support for NATO's bombing of

coalition." Mr. Fischer said in an interview with the left-leaning Frankfurter Rundschau

newspaper. Mr. Fischer's comments are the clearest acknowledgment yet that growing opposition to the bombing campaign within his ecologist party could have consequences for its alliance with Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's much;

higger Social Democran's Party. Mr. Schroeder has repeatedly downplayed the possibility that, barely six months after coming to power, he might ditch his junior partners, who are enjoying their first taste of government, to seek a new alliance or event call a new election.

But speculation about such a move increased after the Greens executive, anxious to placate increasingly restive members, issued a Kosovo policy statement Monday urging the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to consider a unilateral, temporary cease-fire.

A crunch will come, at the very latest, at a special Greens congress May 13, when the party will vote either to adopt or reject that policy statement. Mr. Fischer, a former peace protester wbos

became convinced of the need for military force against Belgrade by the Bosnia War warned his party that withdrawing support for Germany's first combat since World War H would be a disastrous mistake.

"It would mean another coalition, but no change in German policy," he said. The Social Democrats, like their junior partners, have said they would not support any

decision to send combat troops into Kosovo. Environment Minister Juergen Trittin, a Greens radical, was derided in the press Wed nesday after he said he was misquoted in calling the NATO operation a "mistake" dur-ing a public debate in Washington this week.

The conservative Frankfurter Allgemeine newspaper said in an editorial it was harely credible that he had been misinterpreted, while the tabloid Bild suggested Mr. Schroeder risk an all-out war with the Greens by

#### ■ Major Union Urges Cease-Fire

IG Metall, the largest trade union in Germany and a major backer of Mr. Schroeder's election campaign last year, urged NATO on Wednesday to end its bombing of Yugoslavia," Reuters reported from Bonn.

#### REBUILD: As Bombs Still Fall, NATO Is Looking to the Task of Restoring the Balkans

Gulf War, would be ready to go on Department confirmed that 700 sol-

John Kifner of The New York provide security for the Apaches.

from the 82d Airborne Division was asked not only for more planes but

In response to a query, the Defense packs of helicopters attack.

One brigade of the 82d Airborne is helicopters, which are capable of

#### Continued from Page 1

Europe what we helped to do for Western Europe after World War II and for Central Europe after the Cold War," he said during a speech in San Francisco in which

he focused on the future of Kosovo.

Mr. Clinton has been careful to avoid lescribing the rebnilding as a modernday Marshall Plan, which invites com-parison with one of the most comprehensive - and most expensive peacetime initiatives in world history.

Over four years, 16 countries rebuilt a Europe devastated by World War II in an attempt to halt starvation, prevent the spread of communism and stabilize the international order to promote free-market economies. The plan, to which the Wednesday. (AP, NYT, Reuters) United States contributed \$13 billion But Mrs. Albright suggested Tuesday

starting in 1948, created the foundation But officials said that the Clinton ad-

ministration and the European Union is a part of that depends on how this ends were nonetheless striving for a thematic vision comparable to that of the Marshall Plan to signal the West's intentions of bringing long-term stability to the re-

To achieve long-term stability, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott said, the alliance will need to holster the nearby countries of Albania, Bosnia. Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania and Mace-

How much physical rebuilding of Serbia would be undertaken and wheo it might begin are major political questions that the alliance has yet to address.

that it would not necessarily depend on the fate of Mr. Milosevic's regime. "Whether Milosevie and Yugoslavia

and whether we see a democratically elected government in Yugoslavia. Mrs. Alhright said at a White House

"We cannot hold the whole region hostage to Milosevic's policies," she

The still-sketchy plan has evolved from notions of tinkering with ways to promote trade within the Balkans to a more expansive economic program that would offer technical and development assistance to the neighboring countries, compensate them for the substantial

As one European diplomat put it. "We need something substantial lo-make sure we never get into this mess"

Officials hope any economic program: would involve international institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as well as most if not all: nations of the NATO alliance.

Some analysts involved in the planning said it could be patterned on the \$5 hillion, four-year plan to help rebuild; Bosnia. Several dozen agencies and na-

tions are participating in that project. Mrs. Albright said that the plan had emerged from discussions among European allies and that the allies expected to! deal with the subject when the leaders of losses in trade and then help them pay off the 19 NATO countries gather here this week for their summit meeting.

No. 36,128

#### ıans

te initial expla-, contrasted with arlier this month on a column of long a road near ys then for the lanes had indeed stained only milnistake publicly. ar, Javier Solana, ay afternooo, he cident, and said

: 10



olis of fabric. ovo Albanian order, a sport in ople in the past kers say, about th. More than tent cities, and ontstripped the nt," said Paula

ce of the UN

s agency said Mr. e of his "public the government at of the federal

rbian leadership efeat NATO and condition of an-

sible fracture" in 'shows the price

IDA

#### Stance d Libya

nton has eased y to allow food be sold to Iran, officials said

nts a softening e countries the ong viewed as im and exportge 10.

J.S. Beef ion said Wed-ban U.S. beef i unless Wash-

e meat had no 10nes. Page 11. .... Page 7.

.. Page 5. ... Pages 6-7. ... Pages 18-19. ww.iht.com

#### during the first two weeks of the cam-He called the strike on the office tower

## **School Shooting**

interrupted by blasts of gunfire when tained the arsenal of weapons to carry it two young men clad in masks and long nut, is not yet known. In coming days, hlack trench coats began shooting Tuesday at fellow students at Col-umbine High School in Littleton, Coloradn. Their semiautomatic weapons fire and explosions claimed 15 lives, including their own. It was the largest death toll in an act of terrorism at a U.S. school. At least 23 people were taken to local hospitals with gunshot and shrapnel wounds, including one girl whn suffered nine shrapnel wounds to

The two gunmen, both in the 11th grade at the school, were found dead in the school library after what a sheriff described as a suicide mission.

They apparently belonged to a small 'group of students known as the 'trench coat Mafia." But exactly what promp-

Once again a routine school day was ted their attack, and where they obnn doubt, these and other key details should emerge. Meanwhile, it is not too

early to begin drawing lessons.

One is that schools must become more adept at spotting potential troublemakers before they resort to gunfire. Another even more obvinus lesson — but nne largely forgotten after the shock of last year's space of school shootings wore off - is the urgent need for concerted action by Congress, state legislatures and gun manufacturers tn keep guns out of the bands of troubled youngsters. School shootings had been in decline this year, but the blasts Tuesday in Colorado are a grim reminder that guns are still too readily available.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## **NATO's Somber Birthday**

When 12 nations created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in April 1949, allied pilots were flying dangerous missions to break the Soviet blockade of Berlin. Now, as leaders of NATO's 19 nations gather in Washington to mark the alliance's 50th anniversary, allied pilots are again flying into harm's way.

The symmetry says something about the remarkable cohesion in support of democratic values that the United States, Canada and these European countries have maintained across a half-century, there is reason for sat-isfaction. But the continuing war means that the 50th anniversary summit meeting, slated to begin Friday, cannot be a celebration NATO can maintain its pride only if its leaders use this occasion to redouble their commitment to stop Serbia's mass killings, rapes and forced expulsions and to reverse Slobodan Mi-

losevic's ethnic cleansing.

Before the Kosovo war began, this NATO event was envisioned quite dif-ferently. It would have heralded the end of the Cold War and welcomed into the alliance the three newest members, nations that spent most of the past 50 years under Soviet domination. Delegates would have devoted most of their nonceremonial energy to NATO's new challenges: shaping a new role now that the Soviet Union is gone, recalibrating the always delicate balance within the alliance between Europe and the United States, paving the way for further enlargement and finding a place for Russia.

the war. They will be debated, this weekend and into the future. It remains crucial for NATO to reiterate its willingness to accept new democratic members that wish to join the alliance, that meet its criteria and that can make a military contribution. Russia should have no veto over that process, nor should Russia be excluded from eventual consideration. Special attention must be paid to Ukraine, another young democracy that does not now seek NATO membership but that merits support. The acceptance of some responsibility for security beyond NATO's borders, the suiting of military capabilines to those new tasks, the struggle against the spread of nuclear. chemical and biological weapons — these remain important, too.

But all these weighty issues will be overshadowed, and should be. NATO's intervention in Kosovo, though often cited for the precedents it sets, in fact speaks to cootinuity in the alliance. NATO as before is standing up to despotism and reaffirming U.S. interests in promoting stability and democracy in Europe. But there is a crucial difference, too: So far NATO is not winning this war. Despite allied unity, Mr. Milosevic continues to carry ont the kind of crimes rarely seen in Europe since Nazi times. The leaders who gather bere must summon the will and deploy the means to stop him, or this will be NATO's last birthday as a meaningful alliance.

-THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Chile and Pinochet

Pinochet has left a lasting imprint nn idential decisions. Election rules give international law. Britain's decision in an unfair edge to General Pinochet's March that even former heads of state supporters, as does a lifelong Senate may be tried anywhere for torture com- seat for him and the military's ability to mitted at home is a landmark, and now the British home secretary, Jack Straw, right to block needed reforms. has ruled that Spain can keep seeking General Pinochet's extradition. But the case has also exposed how Chile's military has limited its new democracy.

Mr. Straw's decision was correct. The Law Lords had ruled that General Pinochet could not be extradited for any crimes committed before 1988, when Britain ratified the torture convennon. That left only three of the original charges standing, but Spain has since added new ones and deserves

the chance in prove its case.

The decision to try General Pinochet in Spain will also benefit Chile. The Chilean government, a coalition of parties opposed to General Pinochet, has asked for him to face justice in Chile. But privately, officials admit they do not want him back. While 70 percent of Chileans want to see him tried, few think the military would allow it. The government would have to choose between a sham trial and conflicts with the military.

So far, Chile's military has been restrained. But it could not bave hoped to influence Britain, and Chile's government was taking General Pino-chet's side. That restraint could vanish if he came home. In 1993, when a judge investigated army payments to General Pinochet's son, the military sent troops into the streets. The case was quickly dropped.

The Pinochet case has reopened a debate on Chile's failure to deal with past crimes. Less noted, though just as important, is the general's undemocratic constitution, which limits the president's power to dismiss military chiefs

Herald Tribune

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The case of General Augusto and grants military influence nver presappoint senators. This has allowed the

Chile's civilian government is not in danger of being overthrown. A military coup would win little support among a population that has enjoyed years of economic growth. But less dramatic insubordination is possible, which has persuaded the government to limit its efforts to restore the freedoms Chile enjoyed before General Pinochet's rule. Thanks to his case, Chileans are coming to realize how much of their democracy has been lost.

#### -THE NEW YORK TIMES. Other Comment

#### Kosovo's Faces

The faces of Kosovo refugees put life swiftly into perspective.

Arriving each morning on the front page of the newspaper, they stare up from the breakfast table to challenge the daily whine. Anyone sweating a deadline at work or feeling stressed about car-pooling the kids or in a fury because the laundry hamper is full and the sock drawer is empty can feel the complaint dry up and drop back down the throat before the silent anguish and exhaustion in so many photographs.

The refugees are piercingly and ap-propriately visible. The creased, dusty aces draw us into the desperation behind barbed wire and under tent flaps. The eyes register fear and hope as they stare into the middle distance, as if trying to focus on a sane future. We follow the gaze and hope they find it. -The Boston Globe.

OxfORD, England — Don't be deceived by this week's birthday backslapping by NATO members. Ever since it began at the end of World its means. "I do not believe the solution War L American leadership has nearly always been accepted with an ill grace

by Europeans. The exceptions to that rule have been British conservatives from Winston

Churchill to Margaret Thatcher. But conservatives are out of power in all the major European states. In their places, as the British prime minister, Tony Blair, likes to say, are a "new gen-eration" of leaders, many of whom came of political age during nr after the great wave of anti-Americanism that

swept Europe during and after 1968.
At first sight, of course, the generation of '68 has had the mother of all ideological makeovers. Indeed, there is something almost surreal about the way these former critics of the American military-industrial complex today defend the bombardment of Serbia by

the U.S. Air Force. Yet behind the veneer of NATO unity, Europe's leaders remain in many ways deeply uneasy about their role as junior partners in a U.S.-dominated concern. Above all, doubts persist about the Clinton administration's ability to define clear objectives and to make available the resources needed to achieve them.

It is undeniable that American foreign confused in its ends and less effective in in Paris 80 years ago.

to hatred in the Balkans is even greater Balkanization." Those were President Bill Clinton's words last weekend, de-fending his view that NATO is fighting for the "autonomy" rather than the independence of Kosovo. Yet few if any politicians in Europe now regard this as a realistic option. Too much has happened in Kosovo for a return to the pre-1989 system of autonomy within Serbia to be a realistic war aim.

Mr. Clinton's other stated aim is to achieve a "democratic transition in Serbia," which means replacing Slobodan Milosevic with some more liberal figure. Again, hardly anyone in Europe expects this to happen. The effect of NATO's air strikes on Serbia has, on the contrary, been to strengthen Mr. Milosevic's domestic position.

So what next? Many Europeans privately warry that rather than commit the ground forces oceded to win this war, Mr. Clinton may be tempted to cut a deal based on the partition of Kosovo. The Russians are standing by to broker

such a compromise.

If the war in Kosovo does end this way — with a redrawing of maps and only partial ethnic resettlement — it will be more than a cop-out by NATO. It will be the end of an era of American policy in Europe seldom has been more involvement in the Balkans that began

would prevent a repeat of the first world war. That conflict had, of course,

started in the Balkans. One of his recipes for the avnidance of future wars was to apply the prin-ciple of "self-determination"; the idea that ethnic and state boundaries should be congruent. It was on that basis that the peacemakers in Paris in 1919 dismantled Austria-Hungary and dimin-ished the empires of Germany, Russia and Turkey, calling into existence new states such as Puland, Czechosluvakia and Yugoslavia.

The problem was that, on closer inspection, the various ethnic groups of Central and Eastern Europe were too intermingled to allow the creation of ethnically homogeneous new states. Originally called the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, 'Yugo-slavia was made up of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina Kosovo was treated as an integral province of Ser-

bia, like Vojvodina on its northern border with Hungary and Romania. This was hardly a triumph for selfdetermination; it simply increased the power of Serbia over non-Serbian peoples of the Balkans to an extent that no Serbian nationalist would have dared dream of in 1914.

Yugoslavia has since disintegrated The Washington Post.

Within NATO, a Growing Divide Over the Balkans

\*\*North England — Don't be decived by this week's birthday tkslapping by NATO members. The since it began at the end of World to Paragraphic to Balkans its series it began at the end of World to Paragraphic to Par States, that rushed to recognize Croatia. Slovenia and the rest when they secreted from Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. Mr. Clinton's insistence on autonomy rather than independence for Kosovo is the last flicker of American wishful thinking that the process of 'Balkanization

of the Balkans' can be halted.
NATO leaders will line up this week: to proclaim their unity. The present crisis gives the lie to such proclamations. The reality is that the gap between American and European objectives in the Balkans is widening. It is Europe that has the strongest interest in halting ethnic cleansing, because, as during the Bosman crisis, it is the Europeans whn have to

cope with the flood of refugees.
Yet the Europeans still expect the United States to provide the lion's share of the forces for military action. And so long as that is so, they have nn option but to defer to American leadership, right or wrong. Europeans have spent the past decade busily working to establish a common currency. One lesson of the Kosovo crisis is that a common army would have been more useful.

The writer a fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and author of "The Pity of War," contributed this comment to

## Without Ground Forces in Kosovo, the Alliance Faces Defeat

DARIS - A student's letter I to a Paris newspaper last weekend observed that NATO has created something without precedent in human history: a war in which only civilians are killed.

To be exact, the observation should be amended to say "only Kosovar civilians" in principle. The incidents in which NATO operations have killed Serbian civilians have been treated by command, press and NATO governments as scandalous exceptions requiring apologies to the Serbs. The apology is that in ground attacks from an altitude of 4,500 meters (15,000 feet), mistakes can happen. NATO's pilots would be in danger if they flew under 4,500 meters.

On the other hand, Kosovar civilians die and are brutalized daily, hut protecting them is not a part of this phase nf NATO's operations. When NATO reaches the phase in its program when attacking Serbian forces from less than 4,500 meters is deemed safe, President Slobodan Miloselikely to have emptied Kosovn of its ethnic Albanians. That is By William Pfaff

cleanse Kosovo of its ethnic Albanians, expelling the pop-ulation, by plansible accounts murdering men and raping young women, with virtually

no opposition from NATO. NATO is bombing air defenses, electric plants, bridges, empty barracks and other objectives of strategic warfare, be-cause this is the war it planned. The fact that these bombings have no possibility of seriously affecting what is going on in Kosovo has no apparent effect upon the NATO command or upon the political council that sets NATO priorities.

NATO has its own war. The Serbs have theirs. Eventually Serbia will have no more bridges or refineries, Kosovn will have no mure people. Since NATO's antionticed purpose is to defend the Al-banian population of Kosovo, Mr. Milosevic will have won.

This strategic bombing spares pilots from risk, which vic's police and terrorists are for some years has been the principal responsibility assigned to U.S. commanders—

What is going on is a freakish inates. NATO's rationale for mutation of war. Serbian forces fighting the war which suits its fighting the war which suits its human and equipment priorities is that, logically, these at-tacks will so punish the Serbian leadership as to make it logical for it to abandon its program of ethnic purification, the very program that has kept Mr. Milosevic in power for the

last decade. Strategic bombing is sup-posed to persuade Mr. Milo-sevic to withdraw his forces from Kosovo. This will create the "permissive environ-ment" NATO seeks, in which its forces can enter Kosovo as peacekeepers rather than

In recent days there have been reports, denied but plao-sible, that NATO ground forces nonetheless are being

committed to combat. My nwa pessimistic interpretation which I hope will be disproved - is that the 82d Airborne Dihis program. He is much cluser hence of the NATO command, vision has gone to Albania to to success than is NATO. which the United States dom-protect the U.S. Army's Apache

associated NATO forces.

It seems likely that these and other troop reinforcements are being prepared to defend Albania against Serbian intrusion, possibly to establish enclaves possibly to establish enclaves of refugee camps in zones of a Serb-ceded "permissive environment" inside Kosovo, and to try to stabilize the extremely dangerous situations in Macedoma and Montenegro, already under attack from forces loyal to Relevade. to Belgrade.

If such a noncombat deployment were eventually accompanied by negotiated or de facto partition of Kosovo, the outcome would be one that some in Washington think could, meretriciously, be presented as a NATO victory. Presentation is all.

Yet there still is time for remain of their homes — the avowed NATO objective.

The NATO powers might still declare, and make, Kosovo an international pro-

helicopters, and the Apache helicopters are in Albania to protect the 82d Arborne and would remain subject to broad international determination and negotiation with a Bel-

grade successor-government. But the window of oppor-tunity is closing, and the NATO public awaits leadership. Clear majorities of opinion exist today in most NATO countries in support of ground " intervention. Such majorities. are fragile, but what destroys them is evidence of futility. Success reinforces them,

What they are being given is ? evidence of futility: incompetand inadaptability on the part if of NATO, shameful preoccupation with the security of its own forces at the expense of i thuse the campaign was meant to protect and repeated tactical defeat by Mr. Milosevic.

If the Yugoslav president's forces are not cleared from prepared for Kosovn — im— Yet there still is time for forces are not cleared from plying that NATO's tepeated NATO to redeem itself by Kosovo he will have won this denials of ground intervention. Identify serious land oper have been deception. Allows to expel Serbian forces and Washington try to place on Kosovo he will have won this There unfortunately is reason from Kosovo, reestablishing the ontcome. The 20th century to doubt that these forces will be the deported Kosovars in what will have ended with a bang, a prospect NATO's macabre 'celebratinn' in Washington' this weekend is unlikely to

concede or prevent. International Herald Tribune.

## Stronger U.S.-Japanese Ties Can Bolster Asian Stability

TOKYO — The U.S. visit of the Chinese prime minister, Zhu Rongji, was difficult. Despite President Bill Clinton's efforts to reinvigorate ties with Beijing, the anti-Chinese mood in Washington is likely to intensify as candidates in the ap-proaching presidential campaign

use China as a political issue. The visit by the Chinese president, Jiang Zemin, to Japan in November was also poorly re-ceived. During his stay, meant to mark the 20th anniversary of the China-Japan Peace Treaty, he continually referred to Japan's wartime conduct. The Japanese interpreted this as a ploy to make Tokyo feel guilty and kowtow to Beijing. Bilateral relations have since become chilly.

Meanwhile, North Korea has angered the Japanese twice in jointly with the United States. the last eight months. In August, North Korea fired over Japan a long-range missile that it said

was being used to launch a satellite. Last month, two North Korean spy ships disguised as Japanese fishing boats entered Japan's territorial waters. The Japanese fired warning shots, but the ships escaped.

All these events are bound to draw Tokyo and Washington more closely together. The incident with the North Korean spy ships, which are thought to be only the tip of the iceberg of Pyongyang's extensive espionage activities in Japan, has encouraged Tokyo to strengthen its defense posture. Indeed, Japan has decided to launch four Japanese-made reconnaissance satellites by 2002 and study a theater missile defense system

The intrusion of the North Korean spy ships is helping to it also favors greater defense hasten the Japanese Parlia- preparedness, including clear

By Masashi Nishihara ment's deliberation oh bills to bolster support for U.S. military operations in East Asia. It now seems certain that those bills will be passed by the Diet's lower house late this month, just

> for a summit meeting with President Bill Clinton in May Particularly notable is the shift in the Japanese public's mood toward empowering the nation to deal with foreign intruders, protect its sovereign rights and rely on its own in-telligence sources. When the Japanese Navy fired at the North Korean ships, it was the first time since World War II that the Self-Defense Forces had used force. Not only has the public accepted this development, but

A closer alliance between Tokyo and Washington would tend to isolate North Korea and China. As a result, both countries have been extremely critical of Japan's current moves. Maintaining political stabil-ity while working toward more before Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi leaves for Washington

open political and economic systems in North Korea and China is in the long-term stra-tegic interest of both Japan and the United States. Tokyo and Washington do not want internal turmoil in China to affect East Asia's economic climate; nor do they want political in-stability in North Korea to cause a massive outflow of refugees to South Korea.

China faces severe domestic China races severe domestic challenges, including bankrupt state enterprises, high unem-ployment, unrest among ethnic minorities and corruption. North Korea suffers from an acute food shortage. If Japan and the United States invest in China and provide food for North Korea, it would probably help both communist countries remain po-

rules of engagement and better coordination with U.S. forces.

litically stable. Engagement --- and the leverage it brings -- is therefore still important.

Nonetheless, when China is allegedly building advanced nuclear bombs with U.S. technology, and North Korea is reportedly exporting missiles and building underground sites for developing nuclear arms, Washington must remain firm. Given the likelihood that North Korca will continue to violate Japanese territorial waters and that China will continue to expand its naval power, Japan must demonstrafe a willingness to defend its territory, by force if necessary. A more effective Japanese

defense posture and stronger security ties with the United States are also vital to prevent North Korea from further adventurism that could upset stability in Northeast Asia and the wider Asia-Pacific region.

The writer, professor of in-ternational relations at the National Defense Academy in Yokosuka, Japan, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## A Swell of Nationalism in Tokyo

#### By Roger Buckley

TOKYO — The election of Shintaro Ishihara last week as the new governor of Tokyo has set nff alarm bells within Japan and abroad. The comfortable victory of the former cabinet minister will add to the discomfit of Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and could increase tensions in relations with the United States.

Mr. Ishihara is well known for his 1989 bestseller "The Japan That Can Say No," which called on the Japanese to stop relying on the United States for their defense and blindly following Washington's lead on global issues. Yet his popularity with the Tokyo electorate may be more a reflection of continuing public dissatisfaction with the established political system in Japan than any

vehement endorsement of rightist aims. Mr. Ishihara, an outspoken nationalist who ran as an independent, gained support because he was seen as an outsider who was not in cahoots with the governing Liberal Democratic Party or the centrist opposition. But once engrossed in the complexities of administering Tokyo, he may find it essential to compromise with the central government.

Mr. Obuchi dismissed Mr. Ishibara's success as of little importance, pointing out that the conservatives fared much better outside Tokyo. Yet Mr. Obuchi and his lieutenants have noted the growing number of floating voters in Japanese politics, and the declining ability of national parties to guarantee the votes of groups they counted on for sopport in the past.

The prime minister's future in the governing party in Parliament appears to be secure, at least for the short term. But his supporters are anxious to see a tangible improvement in the sluggish economy before the next general election.

To enhance his leadership credentials, Mr. Obuchi wants to pass into law bills that will increase U.S.-Japanese defense cooperation and strengthen security ties with Washington, Difficulties remain over the presence of American forces in Okinawa. To offset this, Mr. Obuchi wants the Japanese military to be able to assist the United States with logistical support in case of a crisis on the Korean Peninsula

The prospect of Mr. Ishihara continuing to raise sensitive issues in U.S.-Japanese relations, particularly his demand that the large and un-dernsed U.S. air base at Yokota on the outskirts of Tokyo be turned into a civilian airport, could exacerbate Mr. Obuchi's problems with the American administration.

Mr. Ishihara's election is far from conclusive evidence that a strong current of neonationalism is emerging in Japan. Yet his calls for less Japanese dependence on the United States could find a wider following in an electorate disenchanted with mainstream party politics and worried by the anemic state of the economy,

The writer, who teaches history at the International Christian University in Tokyo, contributed this comment to the International Herold Tribune.

#### IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

#### 1899: Industry Evils PARIS — The Temps says:

"The Conservative and Agrarian Right in the Prussian Landtag has risen against the project for an Elbe-Rhine canal it saw therein another offering to the industrial Moloch whom it detests, and denonnced it as a continuation of the policy of treaties of commerce. It protests against any measure likely to develop industry. Industry engenders capitalism, which engenders revolution whereas agriculture binds to the soil the docile peasantry who vote according to the gnodwill of the landed proprietor."

## 1924: Henpecked Club

LONDON — Scores of Yorkshire husbands assembled in Boulderclough. They were attending the annual meeting of the Henpecked Club, more of-

the yearly one day of liberty. Because of the increase of applicants, it was decided to apply stricter tests. It was suggested that a member demand one suit of clothes for every three his wife gets and that if she is to have a new hat the husband should at least be entitled to some new article at her expense.

#### 1949: Criminal Youth

PARIS — A criminal group of American youth is being pre-pared for a future war, Alexander Fadeyev, president of the Soviet Writers' Union charged He quoted FBI figures to show that crime is on the increase in the United States. "It is characteristic," he said, "that the American newspapers explained this increase by an un precedented use of alcoholic drinks and by the corruption of the youth. We can only think that this corruption is preparing ficially and politely described as for future war cadres.

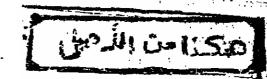
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By Gail Collins

week when she and the citizens of the Empire State moved into the same pronoun. "We have every-thing in New York that we have in America," Mrs. Clinton said. In some kind of agrarian flashback to her Arkansas days, she added that the New York press corps might be surprised to know the kind of crops that are grown in their state. If this candidacy blossoms, flash cards and spelling tests are sure to follow.

The idea that New York is uniquely reflective of the nation as a whole is sure to appail the nation as a whole, but a contest featuring Mrs. Clintoo and Rudolph Giuliani, New York City's mayor, would certainly be America's race.

The nationalization of the New York Senate seat is already hap-pening. Mr. Giuliani amounced at a speaking engagement in Florida that he had filed papers establish-ing his potential candidacy. Mrs. Clinton, expanding the race's scope further, broke her self-imposed embargo in discussing her

> Mrs. Clinton fears. another personal tragedy; Mr. Giuliani envisions barbarians at the gate.

political plans while she was m Cairo. (This week, as Adam Nagoumey noted in The New York Times, she entertained a public discussion of the Senate race for the first time "on American soil.")

On a substantive level, Clinton versus Giuliani would be an ineresting clash between the politics of moderate Republicanism and of Clintonian Democrats, in which we would finally get to figure out how the two differ. On a personal level, this is the gender gap come to life. But right now, the greatest fascination lies in the sight of these two outsize personalities trying to fit themselves

When Mrs. Clinton finally allowed reporters to ask questions his week, the infamous buildog New York press corps failed to

By Jim Knipfel. 235 pages. \$22.95.

Reviewed by Michiko Kakutani

Jeremy P. Tarcheri Putnam.

SLACKJAW .

TEW YORK — Hillary Clin-ton's potential Senate can-didacy reached a new plane this query about whether it was fair for the American taxpayers to be un-derwriting these first-lady forays into New York.

If Mrs. Clinton had been study-ing Mr. Giuliani's technique, she would have said that the subsidized transportation and staff were all necessary for her security and perhaps implied that the media was sympathetic to international terrorism. Instead, her press secretary compared the questioning reporter to a "pinhead," raising the possibility that the information policy that has done so much for President Bill Clinton's reputation can be exported to New York. The idea that Mr. Giuliani,

whose inability to get along with his peers is notorious, wants to join the clubbiest legislative body in human history is almost as otherworldly as the idea of a first lady running for election in a state where she has never lived even as her husband still occupies the White House. Mr. Giuliani has not told Governor George Pataki that he is interested in the Senate race, but he has traveled to Texas to discuss the matter with George Bush. When the mayor was asked about Mr. Pataki at an event in Staten Island, he invited his Greek

chorus, Guy Molinari, to reply.
While the mayor stood dutifully at his side, Mr. Molinari laced into the governor for trying to "scuttle" the Giuliani candidacy. It is a pretty good definition of surreal politics when a candidate for senator from New York chooses to discuss his ambitions with the governor of Texas while attacking the governor of New York through the borough president of Staten Island. .: Mrs. Clinton's associates say

she will announce her intentions this summer, and that the longer she waits the more likely it is she will run. She has apparently decided she would like to run, but has not quite come to grips with whether she could stand to lose.

Mr. Guliani says he is closing in on a decision, but that he is worried the city might sink back into anarchy and chaos if he is oot at the helm. One side fears yet another personal nightmare, the other envisions barbarians at the gates. The presidential race would pale by comparison,

The New York Times.

The second second second BOOKS



#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The NATO Air War

Regarding "NATO Must Pre-pare for the Long Haul in the Balkans" (Opinion, April 12) by Anthony Lewis:

I agree with Mr. Lewis that after the lessons of Iraq one would bave to be an incurable optimist to believe that aerial bombardment alone would be successful to removing Slobodan Milosevic and his cronies from power. But if Mr. Milosevic were to buckle under pressure and sign a treaty allowing the entry of NATO forces into Kosovo, he most likely would be lynched by an angry mob, because most Serbs now regard the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as the problem, not the solution.

Most of my friends in Serbia avoided the military draft in the past and could not have cared less about Kosovo until the NATO bombing campaign started. Now many of them are volunteering to serve in Kosovo and even welcome the prospect of facing NATO troops.

Their view is that NATO's 'surgical strikes" are destroying the whole body instead of just the tumor, They would rather die with their boots on than die while running from bombs. DANIEL FILIPOVICH.

Vienna.

in Bosnia-Herzegovina was accompanied by an even more effective Croatian ground offensive with arms quietly provided by NATO. Yet few would cootend that the Croatian fighters or their leader, Franjo Tudiman, are mor-

ally superior to the Kosovo Liberation Army and its leadership. Why is NATO reluctant to do what it eventually will have to do - but only after delaying until Kosovo is emptied of its Albanians except for tens of thousands buried in its soil? Clearly Albanian Kosovo can oo looger be ruled by Serbia. Nor should vague worries about a new "Albanian menace" in the Balkans allow gen-

GBORGE B. LAMBRAKIS.

India and Bangladesh

Regarding "A Lesson for Yugoslavia in Bangladesh's History" (Opinion, April 1) by Philip

Mr. Bowring describes India's criticism of NATO's attacks oo the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as hypocritical and asserts that there is a precedent for the NATO action in India's role in the creation of Bangladesh. This

is misleading oo several counts. Unlike NATO now, we in India did not claim a right of buman-The effective NATO bombing . itarian intervention, even though that stopped the Serbian advance 10 million refugees sought sanctuary on our territory. We looked after the refugees but did oot intervene militarily to stop the problem at its source in East Pakistan.

It was only when Pakistan attacked us in December 1971 that we invoked the right of self-defense under Article 51 of the UN charter. We do not recall any great enthusiasm in NATO capitals when it became clear that, as a result, Bangladesh woold become independent sooner rather than

Mr. Bowring has ignored the fact that the population of what became Bangladesh constituted the majority of Pakistan's population. Pakistan's population. ulation. Pakistan's general elections had clearly shown that the majority in East Pakistan wisbed to break sway froto Pakistan, and the minority tried to prevent them by use of force.

NAVTEJ SARNA. Washington.

The writer is press counselor at the Indian Embassy in Washing-

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

## Even the Queen's English Needs a Bit of Correction

By T. R. Reid

ONDON - The English language is in such dobious shape here in the country that invented it that almost oobody ooticed recently when an elegant woman speaking in the plummy accents of privilege committed a grammatical crime on natioowide

The speaker wounding the Queen's English was nooe other than the queen herself. In her anoual address to her sobjects presumably vetted endlessly by the Buckingham Palace staff -Queen Elizabeth II observed that "the young can sometimes be wiser than us." Than us? 1 wondered: Is this proper Englisb? So I dug out The Oxford Guide to English Usage and found that Her Majesty was wrong. No one was more dismayed than 1.

Before I moved here, I might have been surprised by this royal gaffe. Like many Americans, I thought those crisp, proper British accents would naturally be used to

recite crisp, proper English.

But after living here for a year,
I've come to a rather startling realization: In public discourse, the English doo't speak English as well as we Americans do. I'm oot soggesting that every cooversation or e-mail in America would pass muster with the Oxford Guide editors. But in official discourse, at least, and in writteo work, Americans try to use proper English. In British business, media and government, though, Pro-fessor Henry Higgins had it right: 'Use proper English, you're re-garded as a freak.'

If you want to hear England's version of English, turn on C-SPAN or some NPR stations and listen to the top guns of the British government violating their lan-guage day after day on the floor of Parliament. Listening idly from time to time, I've scratched down a slew of solecisms from the froot bench, including:

• The secretary of state for Northern Ireland, Marjorie (Mo) Mowlam: "The right honorable gentleman's reply demonstrates the difference between he and

• The deputy prime minister, John Prescott: "The gentleman asks who is responsible. And the answer is, him! • The prime minister, Tooy Blair: "We have said that each

choice. • Mr. Blair again: "Every person in Northern Ireland can vote

member should make their own

as they want."

The curse of nonagreement —
the plural pronoun following a single antecedent — that plagues Mr. Blair's rhetoric is a particularly common problem here. Even the Oxford Guide, while insisting that nonagreement "is not yet fully ac-

cepted," warns "it is becoming

increasingly common." Is it ever! "Almost every driver will find their taxes increased." declares a BBC news anchor. "If someone wants to pay in euros, they can, 'says the spokesman for a national retail chain. "Delavacquerie allowed everyooe to examine the proofs as long as they wished," writes the covelist Anthony Powell.

The queen's clunky usage also is commonplace. "He loathes people who are richer than him, reads a newspaper profile on the Marquess of Bristol. "I'm sure our boys can play stronger than them,' says a prominent cricket coach.

The demonstrative pronoun is a particular minefield for England's English speakers. When Glen Hoddle was fired recently as England's national soccer coach for expressing unpopular opinions, he stood before a bank of mi-crophones and denied everything: 'I did oot say them things.''
At least I'to oot the only one

who cringes at such usage. Many Britons are worried about the decline in their own linguistic standards. "My hackles rise every time I hear someone say 'them books,' 'I done it,' 'It weren't me,' 'says Penny Wark, a deputy editor at The Times of London.

The natioo's most popular TV presenter," or anchor, Trevor McDonald, was so disturbed by the uogrammatical sound bites he heard on his own program that he started a natioowide "Better English Campaign." "We seem to oeglect English," Mr. McDonald said, "while other people around the world are rushing to learn it." He has a point. About 1.5 billioo

people worldwide speak English daily; only about 5 percent of them live in the British Isles. Maybe that huge offshore majority cares more about the language than the folks who gave it to the rest of us.

#### is to defend the At- serious of granted or si vanias population of feether twe been descritter. DO YOU LIVE IN back shuffle" to avoid getting hurt. He uses his wide-brimmed hat, like a cat's

JIM KNIPFEL'S life, recounted in his new memoir, "Slackjaw," sounds like a bad dream: He discovered in his early 20s that he was afflicted with a rare genetic illness called retinitis pig-ipentosa, which would leave him blind in a couple years, and he also learned that he was suffering from a form of epilepsy that caused depression and "rage seizures." His marriage was falling apart, he was drinking heavily, and

he couldn't find a job.
"I keep returning to that simple manma of mine, Deal With It," he writes, while recognizing that life has become gue long slapstick routine - like living a Marx Brothers movie, except without quite so many musical numbers."

It was Knipfel'a sardonic sense of humor and his keen sense of the absurd that kept him from going through with his plans to commit suicide, and those same qualities enliven this memoir, making his account of his travails less depressing than funny, heroic and, yes, entertaining. Knipfel — a staff writer and columnist for New York Press — is also blessed with a natural, one might even say reflexive, knack for telling stories, and in this volume he spins the most ordinary of events (a subway ride, a trip to Times Square, a visit to a bar) into rollicking adventures, crammed full of paranoia, suspense and giddy self-dramatization.

Knipfel, himself, emerges as a sort of middle-class rebel, a would-be anarchist and outsider who has read a lot of Kafka, Nietzsche and Dostoyevsky. He and a friend considered naming their rock band 'The Walf Man, the Rat Man and

By Alan Truscott

subtitle to Frend's 'Three Case Histories'; in college they formed a political group called the "Nihilist Workers' Party." Knipfel later takes to wearing a black fedora in hopes that it will make him look like Bogart or Cagney. And when he starts losing his sight, he con-siders buying a walking stick with a silver wolf's head handle instead of a blind man's white came. He was, he says, a walking cliche."

After completing college with a de-gree in philosophy, Knipfel enrolls in graduate school at the University of Minnesota, where he teaches an introduction to humanities course. He complains, however, that his students simply regargitate his lectures back to him in garbled form ("Nietzsche's sister married an anti-semantic." "The poem argued for carpe diem — that is, 'cease the day.''') And he soon tires of 'writing papers about papers other people had written about books other people had written about some cultural icon or work of art." He turns to a life of petty

He orders some brass knuckles from an ad in Soldier of Fortune, learns the craft of shoplifting and begins hanging out with "dealers, other thieves, hookers, pimps, a few men who claimed to be murderers."

Shoplifting, it turns out, will be only one of his many careers. He also works at a used-book store and a pomography shop. He tries running a bar, works as a guard at the Guggenheim Museum, and takes a long-term job as a receptionist (a decidedly undiplomatic one, it must be said, who tells callers they've got "25-to-1 odds" of talking to the person they're calling).

As Knipfel's eyesight deteriorates, it becomes increasingly difficult to get to work or run the most mundane errands.

BRIDGE

whiskers, as a sort of early warning system for objects he might run into. And he divests himself of most of his possessions (including his beloved books) so be can better navigate his apartment. His life grows progressively smaller. "I had never much liked going out before," he writes, "even when I could see, bot now, whenever someone asked me to stop by, or meet at a bar, or

go out to dinner, my throat tightened, dread filled my guts."

In time Knipfel does learn to deal with his blindness, just as he learned to deal with his seizures. With the belp of his "home survival trainer" (who gives him a talking clock and oven mitts that cover his arms) and "the cane lady" (who teaches him bow to get around the city), he slowly recovers his feisty in-dependence. He recounts the bizarre tale of enrolling in a track safety program that is meant to teach blind people how to survive a fall onto the subway tracks. And he provides a bitter but darkly comic account of his efforts to deal with the competing agencies set up to belp the blind.

Some of Knipfel's anecdotes sound overly polished, like the sort of anecdotes performers tell and retell oo talk shows. And his writing occasionally slips into cliché. "Some people drink because it's Christmas Eve and they want to celebrate," he observes. "Others drink just because it's Christmas Eve." A couple of pages later, he declares that he "was born with an infant's body and a 100 year old's spirit." Such lapses, however, are rare in a book that displays remarkable clan and some wicked black burnor in chronicling 'the weirdness parade' that has been Knipfel's life. New York Times Service



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J.S. Beef don said Wedban U.S. beef 5 unless Washe meat had no nones. Page 11.

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earlier this month at 83, was game for more than 60 years. the best record of success in major team championships,

Teams and seven Board-a-7/- He was a master bidder and said the idea, described and publicized by his partner. which became the Stayman donvention. One authority fullates that in his heyday he was the least likely player to an error. He was su-premely ethical and had none of the rough make an error. He was su-

with six Spingold Team vic-tories, eight Vanderbilt

most of his contemporaries one-diamond opening. C EORGE RAPEE, who died at his Florida home

In the 1953 world championship in New York, Rapee held the South hand shown in the diagram. He unexpectedly one of the great figures in the found himself in game in been for more than 60 years. He won three world titles, and opponent, who tended to for the period in which he was overcall with shaky suits, for the period in which he was overcall with shaky suits, most active, 1942-80, he had had bid one heart over the NORTH

> ♦ J 87\_ WEST 4 Q 8

SOUTH

king and led a low trump, was helpless: His trumps winning with the queen when East played low. He led the position. diamond 10, and West ruffed, noting that his partner played the queen to signal for spades. When he played that suit, South finessed, and the king won oo his right. The club ace was played, forcing dummy to ruff, and East perhaps thought he would score two trump tricks. But after South had cashed the dia-

OAKJ87S WEST 4 K 4 2 VK1064 +K1076531 +AQS SOUTH EAST mond ace, the position was as 2 Q 1 9 3 shown at left. When another diamond winner was led, East ruffed with the heart king, and South bidding: threw a clob. Another club North Pass Pass 3 V 10 forced dummy to ruff with the DM ace, and another diamond 3 o winner was led. Rapee ruffed this with the three, shortening

his trumps, and led a spade to He won the opening dia- the ace, Dummy's last dia-mond lead with dummy's mond was led, and East were trapped in a coup

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## Crib Tech

# Carmakers Are Going an Extra Mile With Fuel-Cell Technology

ETROIT — The future of sd-

vanced-technology vehicles rewben four antomakers announced major investments in the development of fuel tric vehicles.

General Motors Corp. and Toyota Motor Corp. unveiled a five-year partnership in fuel-cell technology Monday, while DaimlerChrysler AG and Ford Motor Co. said Tuesday that they would put a demonstration fleet of fuel-cell vehicles on the road next year.

Fuel cells combine hydrogen and oxygen in a chemical reaction that creates electricity to power a vehicle. Unlike the toxic gases that pass through the tailpipes of conventional fossil-fuel cars. water vapor is the only waste expelled by bydrogen-fuei cells.

The auto industry wants to test the reliability and operating cost of fuel-cell technology partly because California ex-pects 2 percent of the vehicles that a

that criteria. Fuel-cell development technology ceived a big charge this week promises to solve a major problem with the driving range of zero-emission elec-

> The best battery-powered electric cars City bases generally travel about 120 miles (190 may be the kilometers) before their batteries run most appropridown. That has been a disincentive to ate way to inconsumers, as reflected in poor sales of troduce fuel-GM's \$44,000 EVI electric car. Fuel- cell cell vehicles are expected to have twice ogy,

> The EV1's price, which works out to a That is partly heavily GM-subsidized monthly lease because the payment of \$499, has been a consumer tumoff as well.

But by working together, GM and Toyota have a better chance of con- as methanol, that could be loaded onto trolling the costs and improving the tech- the buses from a central refueling stanology of electric vehicles, said Harry Pearce, the deputy chairman of GM.

The partnership brings together the coosiderable research and development major automaker sells in the state to talent of GM and Toyota, which together powered internal-combustion engines account for 25 percent of global auto

executives said they had spent more than put a society on wheels," he said. \$1 billion on advanced-technology vehicles since 1990 and would put hundreds of engineers on the latest project. vehicles with gas and electric motors

technol-

said.

fuel cells may drogen from a more common fuel, such as methanol, that could be loaded onto GM and Toyota have been at the

entirely, and that may use electric motors hicle.

electric vehicles or fuel cells can meet production. The companies declined to instead. "In these markets, you don't put a value on the program, but GM need many kilowatts under the hood to

Akihiro Wada, the executive vice president of Toyota, described hybrid

Battery-powered cars travel 120 ising technicai miles (190 kilometers) before option for altheir batteries run down. Fuelternate-power vehicles. Annual output of such vehicles could surpass

require bulky equipment to extract hy- tional gas-powered engines early in the

forefront of advanced-technology development. GM was the first to market with Cooversely, Mr. Pearce said, exten-sive research will be devoted to emerg-the EV1 in 1996. It is also working on ing-market vehicles that may bypass gas- several hybrid-electric concepts and has low-sulfur, or perhaps zero-sulfur, feedexhibited a methanol-based fuel-cell ve-

Toyota was the first automaker to sell a gas-electric hybrid when it introduced the rius subcompact in Japan in 1997. Toyota expects to turn a profit on the Prius next year, after the car is introduced in the United States and Europe. The current version of the car, available only in Japan, tandem as the is losing money, Mr. Wada said.

THE TOKYO-BASED company also sells several battery-powered electrics, including a version of the RAV4 sport-utility vehicle in California, and is working on several fuel-

Ford and DaimlerChrysler plan to test that of tradi- a fleet of 10 cars and five buses powered by fuel cells, joining Ballard Power Systems of Canada, the state of California and three oil companies in working on

The oil companies are Texaco Inc., Atlantic Richfield Co. and Shell Oil Co., which will be responsible for refining er fuels to be used in hydrogen-cell

The feeder fuels are needed to produce hydrogen, which combines with oxygen in a chemical reaction to generate the electricity that powers the vehicles.

Ford owns 15 percent of Ballard, which will make the fuel cells, while

DaimlerChrysler owns 20 percent. If the Ford test is successful, the pilot program will be expanded to 40 cars and 40 bases by 2003, a Ford spokesman

Rivals such as Bayerische Motoren Werke AG also are experimenting with fuel cells. Last month, DaimlerChysler unveiled the Necar 4, the first drivable prototype of a zero-emissions fuel-cell car in the United States. The company

car in the United States. The company said it hoped to sell 40,000 fuel-cell vehicles annually by 2004.

Last year, the president of Missibishi Motors Corp., Katsuhiko Kawasoe, said his company and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd. were working jointly on developing vehicles. developing vehicles powered by fuel cells, and they aimed to have a commercially feasible vehicle ready by (WP, Bloomberg, LAT)

#### **ALT** / Review



IBM refers to its latest notebook, the ThinkPad 570; as a transformer.' Its design allows the basic computer to slide out, providing the user with a lighter portable to take along.

## Laptops Take On **Split Personalities**

By Saul Hansell

FEW YORK - Pity the poor notebook computer designer. Everyone complains that notebooks are too heavy. But when manufacturers try to make more svelte machines, users say the screens are too small and the floppy disks and CD-ROM drives are missing.

That is why many notebooks now come with an array of flaps, bays and compartments into which disk drives and batteries can be added or removed. Other machines start small, but wind up looking like snake pits as all

manner of devices are plugged in from the outside.

International Business Machines Corp. is trying to appease the schizophrenic notebook user with a new model introduced this week.

Called the ThinkPad 570, the machine is the replacement for its 560 model, a leader in the 4-pound (1.8 kilogram) ultraportable category. IBM calls the machine a "transformer," after the U.S. cartoon series about robots that morph into different shapes.

In one incarnation, the 570 appears to be a somewhat bulky traditional notebook of the kitchen-sink variety. Two inches (5.1 centimeters) thick and weighing 6.8 pounds, the machine has a floppy drive, a CD-ROM or DVD drive and room for two batteries. But push a button on the front, and a four-pound, one-inch-thick emerges, leaving all those drives behind in a single base

"People want a desktop replacement, but they also want the flexibility to take off when they need," said Adalio Sanchez, general manager of IBM Mobile Computing.

Martin Reynolds, a research fellow at Dataquest Inc. says that the 570 is part of a series of well-designed products that bas belped IBM regain momentum in the notebook market after losing ground earlier this year.

Still, he said, Dell Computer Corp. has hurst forward to take the lead in notebooks for the first time this year, with Toshiba losing the greatest amount of market share.

THE TRANSFORMER concept represents "some breakthrough thinking." Mr. Reynolds said. "But I still would be inclined to bet that it's not going to be a barn-burner. The market has not liked ultraportable machines alone. And in its hig version, it's bigger than other full-featured notebooks."

IBM has set the price of the 570 higher than the smaller hut more-pared-down Sony Vaio 505 and st about the same price as the similar Protege line from Toshiba. The cheapest of IBM's 570 configurations is \$2,699,

for the notebook machine only, with a 300-megahertz Pentinm II processor and a 12.1-inch screen. The top version has a 13.3-inch screen and a 366megahertz processor for \$3,599. To get the full transformer effect, customers must get an "ultrabase" unit for \$119, and a CD-ROM drive for \$135. Watching movies on the laptop will require a DVD drive for \$335.

# An Upstart Chips Away at Microsoft

cell vehicles are expected to

have twice the range.

#### Linux Grabs Some of the Comdex Spotlight From Windows 2000

HICAGO crosoft's Windows might dominate the operating system wars right now, but you would not know it from the enthusiasm sur-

rounding npstart Linux.
While Microsoft Corp.'s chairman, Bill Gates, was proudly introducing Windows 2000 at the spring Comdex computer conference this week, scores of techies instead focused oo Linus Torvalds, who developed the Linux operating system as a student in Finland in the early

"Linus, will you sign this?" pleaded Margaret Hadam, a 20-year-old Loyola University student, jamming a program guide in Mr. Tor-

Unix operating system used by husinesses to run computer networks and Internet sites. Linux can be downloaded for free off the Weh; commercial versions with additional features can be bought at retail

Ms. Hadam and others praise Linux because its source code software rarely appears on desktop computers.

— the programming language that makes Linux run—is also freely available, allowing programmers to personalize it to suit their needs.

Mr. Torvalds said his system was gaining popularity be-cause it gives people what they want.

"It didn't get to this point because of the hype," Mr. Torvalds said. "It got bere because it does what people want it to do. Let's not forget that." Linux has 10 million users and accounted for more than 17

percent of all computer-server operating-system shipments last year, according to the research firm International Data Mr. Torvalds said he received no money from Linux or the companies that stand to profit from it. He was less than flattering to Microsoft, calling it a "big brother" that tells people "what to do and when."

In an internal memo in November, Microsoft described Linux as posing s "significant" revenue threat to its Windows NT system, which runs high-speed corporate computers. Still, Linux's use in business computers is a tiny fraction of assistant, looked unpleasantly surprised when a hlue "error"



more established Unix systems and Windows NT, and the

Comdex on Monday. Windows 2000, the latest generation of the Windows NT business-oriented operating system, is Microsoft's most ambitious foray into the corporate market. It is designed to compete with large network systems made by Sun Microsystems Inc. and Novell Inc. It is also the cornerstone of an array

of software for doing hus Company executives say the latest test version of Windows 2000 will be distributed to companies nationwide by next month and will be on the market by the end of the year. Improvements include easier ways for company employees to transfer computer documents into laptops to take on the road, Mr. Gates said.

E ALSO SHOWED his sense of humor by showing a clip of last year's embarrassing computer crash during the debut of Windows 98. In it, Chris Cappesello, an



Mr. Gates, above left, Microsoft's chief, watching as an assistant explains features of a new mouse.

screen popped up for all the world to see.
"A lot of people have asked me in the last year, "What happened to that guy?"" Mr. Gates told the crowd. Mr. Cappesello then walked onto the stage to the tune of "I Will Survive" and successfully orchestrated a demonstration of Windows 2000 as well as other new Microsoft products. including a new computer mouse that has no dust-prone moving

parts underneath and can be operated on most surfaces.

The mouse takes 1,500 "pictures" a second to detect movement and direction, making the device more reliable and

ng the need for a mouse Not everyone was impressed with Microsoft's extravagant displays. "Microsoft does a really, really good job of selling," said Mike Ho, a student at Northwestern University who attended Mr. Gates's speech. "But a lot of the things from today I've already seen from other companies, like Apple."

This week's spring Comdex show was expected to draw 80,000 people and 500 companies and exhibitors to the McConnick Place convection center on Lake Michigan. Comdex is sponsored by Ziff-Davis Inc., which published computer-related magazines and is a unit of Tokyo-based

## Old VCR Rivals Gear Up for New Battle Over CD Formats

#### By Yuko Inoue

MOKYO - Sony Corp. and Matsushita Electric Industrial Co., arch-rivals in the Betamax-VHS fight over technology for videocassette recorders, are set to wage another format battle for a new generation of audio gadgetry. The bell for the next round will ring this summer, when competing camps of consumer electronics makers introduce two separate optical disk formats in Japan. They are targeting the vast replacement market for conventional audio compact

The formats are similar in size, capacity and quality hut are

incompatible with each other. As in the clash of the electronics titans 10 years ago.

analysts say Matsushita, which manufactures under the Panasonic and National brands, is the odds-on favorite because of its cheaper products. But they also predict this will be no simple rematch of the VCR contenders. With current CDs already offering high-quality sound, analysts are by no means certain that a fancier

format will find eager buyers. 'Many audio fans nowadays are content with the current CD technology and see no need to jump into new tech-nologies," said Masahiro Ono, an analyst at Warburg Dillon Read. "The format war this time will be a lot different from that of VCRs in the 1980s."

The new disks, which are not recordable, look just like conventional CDs, but pack in seven times more information

and produce superior sound quality.

Both systems will also be compatible with the estimated 12 hillion CDs using the existing format that have been sold worldwide since 1982.

BRIEFLY

TO RUSSIA WITH SOFTWARE:

Software AG, a German maker of data-

base products, is to sell new software in

Russia at bargain prices to upgrade ma-

terial pirated in the Soviet era. The com-

pany said its products became well

known during the 1970s, when Soviet

programmers illegally copied Western

technology because they could not im-

(Bloomberg)

(\$252 million) in annual patent royalties that companies must pay to Sony and Philips Electronics NV in order to use their conventional CD technology.

Matsushita, joined by Toshiba Corp. and 41 other hardware manufacturers and recording companies, is promoting DVD audio, an audio version of the digital videodisk format already available on video machines and computers. Analysts said the large number of manufacturers and content

providers in the group will bring down product prices quickly.

The company said last week that its DVD audio player, to be introduced in Japan this summer, would be priced from 100,000 yen to 200,000 yen.

To counter DVD audio, Sony and Philips have developed

their own Super Audio CD format that Sony plans to begin selling in Japan on May 21.

Sony will initially pitch the product to serious audio fans, with the first models priced at 500,000 year, although prices would be brought down to mass-market levels in around three years. Sony is deliberately aiming its initial products at the high-

end market because this is where the system will be easily accepted," Mr. Ono said. "But the DVD audio format is in a Fueling the Matsushita camp's aggressive push for a new accepted," Mr. Ono said. "But the DVD audio form much better position to develop the overall market."

## **CROSSWORD**

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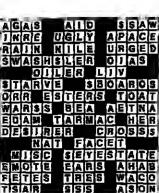
**ACROSS** 

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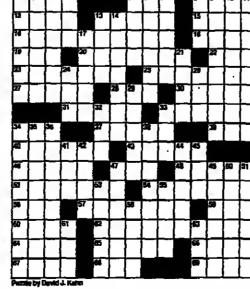
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@ New York Times/Edited by Will Short.

53 Salesman's preparation 55 Upper hand

58 THE TESTURE en Suburban finsk 63 Game ocener



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KEEPING IN TOUCH: AT&T Corp. and Hong Kong-based iMagic Informedia Technology Ltd. installed 20 interactive touch-screen public phones at John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York City. The phones allow users to get flight information, check their electronic mail and order flowers. rental cars or botel rooms, (Bloomberg)

VARIETY OF APPLE: Apple Computer bas introduced a new version of its QuickTime multimedia software designed to permit computer users to receive video and audio programming
the Internet. (NYT)

#### TECHNOLOGY INDEX Technology stock indexes around the world: Pct. change, year to date Pacific Stock Exchange 482.52 +7.42 S&P Tech Composite 1,245.14 +6,59 Morgan Stanley Eurotec 606.42 -0.67 Topix Electric 1,872.71 Source: Morgan Stanley, Bloomberg News +21.41

For technology articles from the past week, see TribTech on the IHT's World Wide Web site at http://www.int.com. Articles include: • Europe Is Getting With the Program, April 15 • Tire-Kicking Enters the Internet Age, April 19

Dautsche Telekom Seaks Capital to Grow Abroad, April 16 Sony and IBM Join on Digital

Broadcasting, April to A European Phone Giant in Works? April 17-18 taly and Germany Hall Telecom Deal, April 19

 STMicroelectronics Posts 16.5% Profit Gain, April 21 \* Telecom italia Moves on Merger, April 21 High-Tech Hangover: Nervous Investors Go Back to Basics, April 21 To reach TribTech editors or to comment on IHT tech coverage, send e-mail to tribtech @int.com.

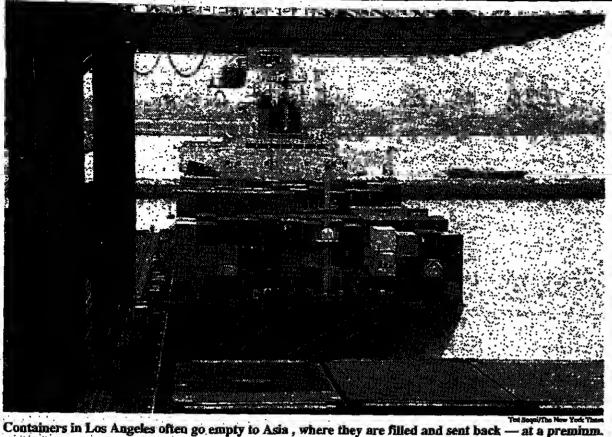
\* The Man Who Pulls Compaq Out

of the Fire, April 20

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THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1999

PAGE 11



## Shipping Encounters a Sea Change But Low Profits Stymie a Shift to the Era of Deregulation

By Andrew Pollack

LOS ANGELES — The ocean-shipping business will be largely deregulated May 1, setting off a scramble among shipping lines to lure customers with discounts. The same day, however, virtually all ships carrying goods from Asia to the United States plan to

raise their rates by the same mutually agreed amount. If this sounds contradictory, it is. But the state of affairs reflects the forces buffeting the shipping business, which is going through some of the biggest changes in its tradition-bound history.

Under the partial deregulation, container shipping lines for the first time will be able to sign individual, confidential contracts with importers and exporters. The competition to sign up such customers is expected to greatly loosen the grip of the cartels that have legally set rates for ocean shipping for more than a century. But the shipping industry's unusual immunity

from U.S. antitrost laws - something it has had almost ever since there were antitrust laws - is not ships, even little changes mount up.

being eliminated. So even as they enter a less regulated era, the shipping lines, reeling from low profits and overcapacity, are collectively raising rafes on imports from Asia by 30 percent or more.

The result is a class between the old and new ways

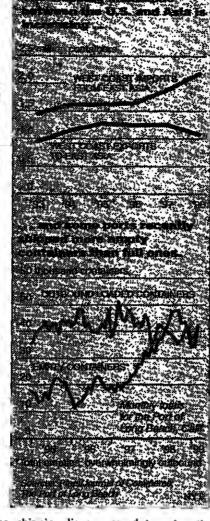
of doing business, and no one is quite sure bow it will turn ont. Many analysts say that eventually container shipping will follow the paths of airlines, trucking and railroads, which began their deregulation two decades ago. There will be lower prices and better service over all but also a brutal period of mergers and bankruptcies among the competitors. Others say that the continued right to set rates

collectively will blunt these effects. Regardless of which way shipping costs move

onsumers might not notice much difference. This is because, for most goods, such as imported sneakers or videocassette recorders, shipping costs contribute only a tiny amount to the final price.

Still, with more than \$400 billion in goods entering or leaving the United States each year on container

Mr. Rubin, speaking at Johns Hopkins International Monetary Fund, suggested University in Baltimore, said the United that a related American proposal to States and its allies were focusing on an provide aid to countries before they get



Moreover, shipping lines, pressed to cnt costs further, might make even more demands for concessions from taxpayer-supported ports. Sea-Land Service, a unit of CSX Corp., and Maersk Inc. of Copenhagen, a subsidiary of AP Moeller Group, are now making such demands of the ports of New York and New Jersey and Baltimore, which are vying for the lines' business, with jobs and income at stake.

The last thing many shipping executives want right now is more competition. The economic downturn in Asia, which has led to record trade deficits for the United States, bas also caused serious imbalances for their lines. Ships bringing imports to the United States from East Asia, the largest trade ronte in the world, are stuffed to capacity, but the ships going back to Asia are half-empty. Shipping lines say they need revenue on both legs to make a profit. And that is why they are raising rates in the busy direction.

"I've been in the business 30 years, and the im-balance has never been that bad," said Albert Pierce,

See SHIPPING, Page 12

## **Italy and Germany Set Telecoms Deal**

Tax Questions Held Up Final Announcement

ROME - Telecom Italia SpA's board greed to a takeover offer by Deutsche Telekom AG, which may thwart Olivetti SpA's \$65 billion hostile bid, after Germany pledged not to meddle in the management of the new company, a state-ment from Telecom Italia said late Wed-

The move, which still needs accept ance by 90 percent of Telecom Italia investors, would combine Italy's and Germany's top phone companies into the world's higgest by value at \$190 billion. Terms of the offer will be released this evening, Telecom Italia

said.
"The big question is whether Telecom Italia investors will go for this plan, with two rival offers on the table," said Deirdre Ernest, an analyst at Caboto SIM. "Telecom Italia and Deutsche Telekom will bave to be really con-vincing about their business

stock only. Without a convincing plan for lifting profit at the two former monopolies that have suffered from the deregulation of European phone markets, Olivetti's mostly cash and bonds offer may be more alluring.

The agreement's annonncement, originally scheduled for Wednesday afminute problems connected with potential tax liabilities, sources familiar with the deal said.

Indicating another potential problem, the Italian Treasury Ministry said the Italian government was bolding negotiations with Germany about creating 'parity" in the transaction and Germany's commitment to sell its stake.

Telecom Italia and Olivetti, which is one-seventh the size of its prey, bave battled for two months. Olivetti has already raised its bid once to lure investors away from Chief Executive Franco Bernabe's defense plan. Sharebolders failed to approve that plan just more than a week ago, sending Telecom Italia scrambling to rope in a foreign ally to arrange a higher rival bid. Deutsche Telekom is likely to offer

one of its shares for every three Telecom

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Italia common shares, a Telecom Italia board member said Tuesday. At Deutsche Telekom's closing price Wed-nesday of 36.08 euros (\$38.41), this values each Telecom Italia share at 12.02

euros, topping Olivetti's offer of 11.5 euros in cash, stock and bonds. After Wednesday's gain, Telecom Italia shares are still below both offers. Olivetti's bid prospectus was expected to be approved by Italy's Consoh securities regulator as soon as Thursday, allowing Olivetti to open its offer before

the end of the month.
Telecom Italia said Tuesday that a new holding company would make a stock offer for all Deutsche Telekom common and Telecom Italia common and savings sbares. The new company will be managed on the basis of 'par-ity,' and its stock will be traded in Milan, Frankfurt and New York, Telecom Italia said.

Deutsche Telekom's strategy for the Italian company will play a key role in swaying shareholders because its offer is stock only. Without a convince. firms. The Italian government owns just 3.4 percent of Telecom Italia, but its socalled golden share gives it veto power over major decisions like mergers.

Telecom Italia has not addressed how the sbares that Telecom Italia does not own in its Telecom Italia Mobile SpA ternoon, was delayed because of last- cellular unit will be treated. People familiar with the Italian company said the new company was likely to buy the cellular shares at a later stage, adding 20 billion euros or so to the transaction's value of about 80 billion euros.

Germany won't limit the voting rights on its 72 percent of Deutsche Telekom but will abstain from interfering in management after the takeover, the board member said. With that commitment in hand, Telecom Italia will call a shareholders meeting to approve the offer. Hans Gottfried Bernrath, head of Ger-

many's Federal Office for Post and Telecommunications, said the government was committed by law to bolding a majority stake in Deutsche Telekom until 2000. Giving up its stake before that, and with that its voting rights in the company, would "demand a legislative ' he said. (Bloomberg, AP)

No. 36,128

## ans

te initial expla-contrasted with arlier this month on a column of long a road near lanes had indeed stained only milnistake publicly.
d so quickly that
er, Javier Solana, ay afternoon, he cident, and said



# Japan's Surplus for Year Grows 23%

Committed by Our Staff From Disposeries . TOKYO — The trade surplus grew 23 percent in the year that ended March 31,

recorded, the government announced Wednesday. The merchandise trade surplus, the measure of all goods exported by Japan minus those imported, rose 23.1 percent from the previous year, to 14.10 trillion

reaching the second-highest total ever

'yen (\$118.61 billion), the Finance Min-The figures indicate that government spending on public-works projects has not yet ignited consumer demand. Falling wages, rising unemployment and cutbacks in corporate investments in plant and equipment continue to drag

down growth. The politically sensitive trade surplus with the United States rose 24 percent, to 6.69 trilbon yen, for the year. Exports to America rose 4.2 percent, to 15.16 tril-

HHE

In March, the surplus with the United States rose 29.1 percent from March 1998, to 570,30 hillion yen.

in Washington that may refocus atten-

By Mitchell Martin

WASHINGTON — Initiatives to put some of the burden of dealing with glob-

al financial crises on private companies appear 10 be gaining favor with governments, statements by British, International Monetary Fund and U.S. of

ficials indicated Wednesday.

U.S. Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin

said other countries had joined the United

States to create "a powerful program of reform" in the aftermath of the economic

turmoil that began in Asia in 1997.

tion on U.S. calls for Japan to deregulate exports and imports for the month, and further open markets for flat glass Japan's surplus with the Earch and medical equipment while not opening foreign-dominated niche insurance markets to domestic competition.

Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi is to meet with President Bill Clinton in Washington on May 3 in a summit meet- a year earlier. ing at which the weak Japanese economy is sure to be a key topic.

Yet analysts say table-bashing trade fights are unlikely. "I don't think frictions are as high as they were a few months ago," said Matthew Poggi, an economist at Lehman Brothers Japan Inc. in Tokyo.
"I think people in the U.S. Treasury and people in the U.S. administration are more understanding that Japan needs to generate growth somehow," be said.

previous year, to 2.97 trillion yea, led by a drop in shipments of aircraft, crude oil and clothing. Exports fell 6.2 percent, to 4.31 trillion yen, reflecting a drop in the first decline in three months and only purchases of steel, computers and autothe second since April 1998. mobiles from abroad.

In March, imports fell 1.2 percent The trade figures were announced from February as exports gamed 6.4 mainly to continued low levels of examid bilateral economic and trade talks percent. The Ministry of Finance did not ports to the rest of Asia.

Crisis Strategies Focus on Private Sector

approach that would involve the private

sector in dealing with crises and would

help developing countries avoid some of

the pitfalls that triggered the turmoil. The Associated Press reported

Mr. Rubin said foreign private creditors

would have to take responsibility when

their emerging-market loans go sour. Separately, in Washington, Michel Camdessus, the managing director of the

**CURRENCY RATES** 

Other Dollar Values

Pers Contenty.

Details of the plan remained sketchy, but Agence France-Presse reported that

Japan's surplus with the European Union shrank 6.3 percent in March, the first narrowing in four months, to 332.1 billion yea. The surplus with Asia nar-rowed for the 12th time in 13 months, to 418.2 billion yen, down 9.8 percent from

A Japanese Finance Ministry official, speaking on condition of anonymity. said that the government believed Ja-pan's trade balance with the world was stabilizing. He said that despite the 23 percent jump last year, a quarterly breakdown showed that the rate of increase slowed sharply in the third and fourth quarters of the year.

The surplus rose 46.3 percent in the first quarter and 42.8 percent in the Imports fell 11.3 percent from the second quarter. In the third quarter, it revious year, to 2.97 trillion yea, led by rose 7.8 percent, and it gained just 3.6 percent in the final quarter. In February, Japan's trade surplus fell 32.2 percent

The ministry official said the narrowing of the trade balance was due

that a related American proposal to provide aid to countries before they get

After the financial crisis began with

the depreciation of the Thai baht in 1997.

investors began to withdraw money from other developing countries, first in Asia, then elsewhere. As the aversion to risky

investments grew, capital flows dried up,

putting further pressure on countries and

companies that would not otherwise

See IMF, Page 12

April 21

have found themselves in trouble.

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in trouble was gaining favor.

(AP, Bloomberg, Reuters)

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Euro Values Flood rates of the EANU member contencies. September 1

Cross Rates





SF Yen

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1.487 2.3889 0.9845 1.242 0.2124 0.4838 0.1771
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CS Done Greek Swede

1.0586 0.6593 1.60 126.26 1.5775 7.4326 326.20 8.905 Searce: Associated Press.
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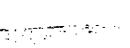


















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#### Very briefly:

• Knight/Trimark Group Inc., which processes most trades that investors funcel through on-line brokerage firms, more than quadrupled its first-quarter profit, to \$37.4 million, as it handled a record 306,000 trades a day.

•Exxun Corp.'s first-quarter earnings fell more than 40 percent, to \$1.02 billion, as depressed oil prices hit the company's profits. Coca-Cola Co.'s first-quarter profit fell 13 percent, to \$747 million, as the U.S. soft-drink maker's sales fell in many

overseas markets and a price increase cut domestic demand. ·Clifford Chance, the British law firm, and the New Yorkbased Roger & Wells are reportedly in merger talks to create the world's largest law firm.

 Anheuser-Busch Cos. has ended a month-old experiment to see how well its beer would sell in plastic bottles; it cited

#### Chief at Borders Books Resigns

ANN ARBOR, Michigan — Borders Group Inc. said Wednesday its chief executive, Philip Pfeffer, would resign after just five months at the No. 2 U.S. book retailer.

Mr. Pfeffer, who is also resigning as a director, will be replaced by Chairman Robert DiRomualdo on an interim basis. The company did not say wby Mr. Pfeffer was leaving. Borders said it would take a charge of 4 cents a share in the

first quarter associated with his departure. The retailer also said it expected to earn 4 ceots to 5 cents a sbare at its stores before the charge for the quarter, and its Internet unit, Borders.com. will lose 5 cents to 6 cents. Borders is expected to break even in the quarter, according to analysts surveyed by First Call. The company also named Bruce Quinnell as vice chairman

of Borders Group and Kathy Winkelhaus as president of Borders Group Stores, a new position.

U. S. STOCK MARKET DIARY

## **Profit Falls** At Compag, As Forecast

The Associated Press

NEW YORK - Compag Computer Corp. reported a \$281 million first-quarter profit Wednesday that met its own recently diminished forecast, hurt by stiff price competition and slow sales of its most profitable business computers.

The results were released four days after the top maker of personal computers forced out its chief executive to try to restore Compaq's credibility on Wall Street.

A week earlier, the company warned it would earn less than half the profit that analysts had been expecting for the quarter just ended.

Compaq's first-quarter results sharply exceeded its year-earlier profit of \$16 million, but they were below what Wall Street had been expecting. Compaq's shares ended un-

#### changed at \$24. ■ Caution at Microsoft

Rajiv Chandrasekaran of The Washington Post reported: Microsoft Corp. said third-quarter profit increased 43 percent, to \$1.92 billion, on stronger-than-expected sales.

But the company, which many see as a bellwether for the technology sector, said late Tuesday that it was "guarded" about growth in 1999.

Microsoft's sbares fell \$1,125 in a rising market to close at \$82 Wednesday.

# Stocks Rise Broadly as Profits Beat Estimates

NEW YORK - U.S. stocks rose

Wednesday as Qualcomm and Bristol-Myers Squibb beat profit estimates. The Nasdaq Composite Index had its biggest gain in 10 weeks, and the Dow Jones industrial average while the Dow Jones industrial avmade its sixth gain in eight sessions.

Some analysts said stocks were International Business Machines 29.95 to 1,336.12. beat earnings and revenoe estimates after the market closed. "Earnings reports have been

pretty favorable across the board," said Timothy Stevenson, a money manager for First Capital Group, a unit of First Union Corp. "It just Russell 2000 Index up 2.50 percent. looks like the market can go on for a Investors have shoveled money into loog while."

Companies in the Standard & Poor's 500 Index are on course to first quarter, up from 6 perceot in the the Nasdaq's gain. The maker of earned last year and about 14 cents

#### U.S. STOCKS

erage rose 132.87 points to a record high of 10,581.42. The broader poised to rise more on Thursday as Standard & Poor's 500 Index gained

> Almost two stocks rose for every one that fell on the New York Stock shares reached 52-week highs, while 139 fell to lows.
> Small stocks railied, sending the

larger companies for months, leav-

ing small stocks to languish.

Qualcomm soared 54 7/16 to report 7 percent profit growth for the 195 1/16, cootributing the most to first quarter, topping the \$1.06 it

last three months of 1998.

The Nasdaq composite index equipment said late Tuesday that climbed 78.65 points to 2,488.29, profit for the second quarter ended profit for the second tripled beating March 28 more than tripled, beating expectacions, on strong demand for phones and the chips that run them.

Other networking companies gained. Lucent Technologies rose 4 3/16 to 589 7/16, and Cisco Systems rallied 6% to 107 15/16.

Drug shares rose for a second day as big pharmaceutical companies continued to meet or exceed ana-Exchange. In U.S. trading, 172 lysts' profit forecasts. Bristol-Myers, the world's biggest maker of cancer drugs, gained 4 9/16 to 63 13/16 after it said first-quarter profit rose a larger-than-expected 15 percent. Bristol-Myers sold more pills for chronic conditions, such as

diabetes and high cholesterol.

IBM earned \$1.55 a share in the

cellular telephones and network above the average analyst estimate. The highest estimate among 30 analysts who follow IBM was \$1.44. Revenue was \$20.3 hillion, above the estimate of \$19.2 hillion. IBM rose 21/2 to 1711/s, rebounding late in the day from a 45/s-point drop.

Thanks to a rebound in emerging markets, U.S. hedge funds were "profitable" in the first quarter and largely outpaced the average equity mutual fund, Van Hedge Fund Advisors International Inc. reported on Wednesday. The average U.S. hedge fund posted a return of 4 percent ner, while the average equity mutual fund was up 1.7 percent in the first. three months of the year, said George Van, chairman of Nashville-based Van Hedge Fund Advisors.

The 30-year Treasury bond fell 2/32 to 96 3/32, nudging the yield up to 5.52 percent from 5.52 percent. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

## War and Growth Fears Send Euro to Record Low

NEW YORK - The euro fell to a record low against the dollar Wednesday amid recewed expectations for slow growth in the 11-nation currency union and amid signs the war in Yugoslavia

was intensifying.

The International Monetary Fund said it expected the euro region to grow 2.0 percent this year, less than the 2.4 percent it forecast in December. The agency, in a report Tuesday, also suggested the half-point interest-rate cut by the European Central Bank this month was not

enough to revive growth.

"The IMF downgrading Europe's growth prospects makes people think, 'Why invest in the euro?" said Bob Gruber, a foreign exchange salesman at Chase Manhattan Corp. He added, referring to the fighting in the Balkans: "People thought the bombing was going to last two or three

this is going to be a long-haul kind of thing." The euro, which hit a low of \$1.0576 earlier in the day, was quoted at \$1,0602 in late trading, down from \$1,0633 on Tuesday, Mr. Gruber said

## FOREIGN EXCHANGE

the currency "could easily go to \$1.04" in the next few days.

The dollar rose to 119.765 yen from 118.850 yen as reports from the Japanese Ministry of Finance and the IMF reinforced concern that a Japanese economic recovery may still be far off.
The Ministry of Finance said Japan's economy was still in a 'severe state.'

Gerard Lyons, the chief economist at DKB

Japan's and Europe's economies look grim." That followed an IMF report Tuesday that said Japan would remain in recession this year.

The dollar rose to 1.5100 Swiss francs from 1.5067 francs. The pound fell to \$1.6067 from

The IMF said the Japanese economy would still be in recession in 1999, predicting that output would shrink by 1.4 percent, and that the

U.S. economy would remain the driving force for the rest of the world. "The euro is weak and will keep weakening,"
Mr. Lyons said. "Comments by Wim Duisenberg at the start of the week gave the green light for the euro to fall further." Mr. Duisenberg, president of the European Central Bank, reduced his in-

flation forecast for the euro zone and said recent International in London, said, "International investors will be prepared to hold dollars as long as full impact. (Bloomberg, AFP, Reuters)

## SHIPPING: As the Old and New Ways of Doing Business Clash, Long-Held Tradition Is Set Adrift

Continued from Page 11

chairman and executive director of the Transpacific Stabilization Agreement, the group of carriers that decided

on the May I rate increase. The bulging trade deficit can be seen in the form of empty shipping containers stacked four high on the piers at the adjacent ports of Long Beach and Los Angeles, which together handle about a third of U.S. container traffic. curred last year, when not

the past few months, amid some signs of recovery in Asia, loaded containers heading to Asia bave slightly outnumbered the empties.

Meanwhile, imports have been unusually strong this year as importers ship early to beat the increase and a possible strike by longshoremen this summer. They also fear a repeat of the delays that oc-"Our No. 1 export was enough ships and containers empty containers," said Har- were available to handle all old Hilliard, marketing man- the imports that had suddenly

ager for the Port of Long become cheaper when Asian said, would add 15 or 20 cents Congress. These changes, the Beach, the nation's largest, in currencies were devalued. Taking advantage of the sellers' market, the shipping lines said they would raise

rates by \$900 for a 40-foot

Robert Camarena, vice president for operations and of pairs of shoes.
global logistics for Vans Inc., A major question, however, global logistics for Vans Inc.,

lower estimates.

Though consumers might not notice, even pennies mat-(12-meter) container coming ter to corporate profit mar-to the West Coast from Asia, gins. Retailers "won't even with an additional \$300 sur- take a 15-cent hit." Mr. Cacharge from June through marena said, worried that his November, the peak season. company might have to absorb the increase on millions

a footwear company, said is whether such a coordinated shipping contributed about 35 rate increase will hold under to 50 cents to the cost of a pair the Ocean Shipping Reform of shoes; the rate increase, he Act enacted in October by

pol, Cents per gal
43.79 42.40 43.45 +0.76 22.970
44.70 42.90 43.70 +0.57 73.302
44.40 43.55 44.15 +0.57 19.453
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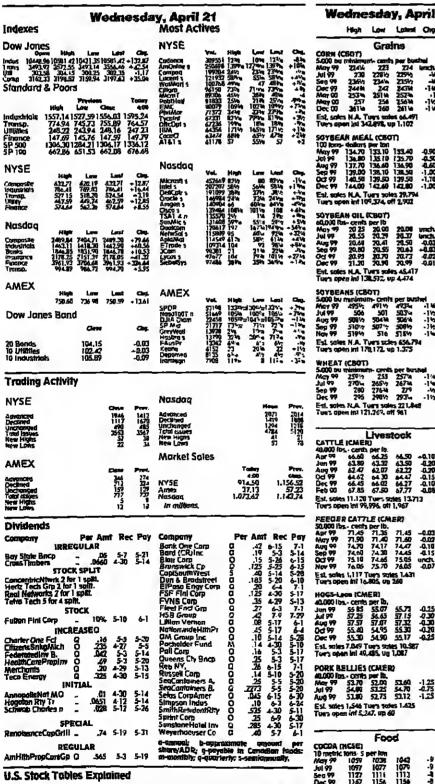
other footwear company cited importers and exporters to with a shipping company. Big importers are expected to ob-

tain hefty discounts. Until now, container shipping lines have been "com-mon carriers" like the phone company, accepting all cus-tomers at published rates. Most rates have been set by cartels known as conferences. Importers and exporters could negotiate their own contracts.

orters and exporters to has already started to fray. The confidential contracts Asia North America Eastbound Rate Agreement, which sets rates for containers heading from Asia to the ... United States, is being replaced by the Trans-Pacific Stabilization Agreement, a "discussion group" housed in the same office in San Francisco. Such groops will not have binding rate-setting authority, as the conferences do. But that has not stopped mem-Terms were public, and other bers from "voluntarily" importers or exporters could agreeing to raise rates.

demand the same rate.

#### INTERNATIONAL FUTURES



Wednesday, April 21 High Low Lotest Chies Opins

US TREASURY SOMDS (CBOT) (5 oct-\$100,000-ob & 22nes of 100 pc) Jun 99 122-15 127-28 122-42 - 97 574.132 Sec 99 121-37 127-12 727-18 - 67 37.44

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Mcy 99 95.07 95.07 95.07
Jun 99 95.07 95.08 95.04
July 95.05 95.04 95.04
Est, soles N.A. Tuers soles 3.027
Tuers open and 36.906, on 1, 193

EURODOLLARS (CMER)

95.00 94.97 95.00 unch 458.407 94.98 94.97 94.97 unch 4.79.5 94.98 94.09 94.97 - 0.07 522.197 94.88 94.69 94.69 - 0.07 322.197 94.74 94.70 94.70 - 0.07 322.174 94.62 94.59 94.79 unch 204.579 94.32 94.49 94.79 unch 182.738 94.35 94.49 94.79 unch 182.738 94.36 94.32 94.33 -0.01 126.598 94.39 94.34 94.35 -0.01 100.157 94.35 94.31 94.31 -0.01 25.250 94.32 94.38 94.38 -0.01 75.103 94.31 94.38 94.38 -0.01 75.103 94.31 94.34 68 9.277 CANADIAN DOLLAR (CM-ER)
100,000 dollars, 3 per Cén. der
Jun 197 4731 4704 4715+0,0013 75,153
Sep 99 4733 4710 6717 40,0007 2,311
Dec 99 4751 4725 4761+0,0007 1,852
Est. soles NA. Tuers soles 5,966
Tuers open led 79,492 off 2,718 NATURAL GAS (RMER)
10.000 mm bers. 8 per mm blu
May 99 2.180 2.125 2.780 +0.030
Mn 99 2.715 2.184 2.780 +0.030
Mn 97 2.275 2.184 2.270 +0.032
Mn 97 2.230 2.184 2.200 +0.072
Aug 97 2.235 2.195 2.235 4.007
GOT 99 2.246 2.235 2.240 +0.071
OCT 99 2.246 2.235 2.240 +0.012
Est. solas R.A. Tuers soles 90,266
Tuers open int 336.432 off 222 GERMAN MARK (CMERO) 125,000 trurks, 5 per mark Jun 99 5451 5466 5448 -0,0015 33,200 Sep 99 5462 5462 5482 20,003 1,256 JAPANESE YEN CAMERO
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10.5 mRison yen 5 per 100 yen
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Jun 97 97.41 97.20 97.40 Unch.
Dec 99 97.24 97.22 97.20 + 0.07
Jun 90 97.20 97.20 97.20 + 0.07
Jun 90 97.24 97.20 97.22 + 0.01 Est. 10459 Open int. 107,101 up 458

Endustriels COTTON 2 (NCTH)

CAC 48 (MATTF)
TUTO 10 per index point
Apr 99 4006.5 455.0 450.0 440.6 109.674
May 99 428.0 455.0 450.1 440.5 129.0
Jun 99 4361.5 422.9 458.0 440.5 42.28
Sep 99 N.T. N.T. 4276.5 444.5 44281 S-MONTH EURO LIBOR (LIFFE)

- sum I million - pis of 100 pcf

Jun 99 97.410 7.405 97.405 Onch. 1

549 99 N.T. N.I. 97.420 Unch.

Det 99 N.T. N.I. 97.420 Unch.

Det 99 N.T. N.I. 97.420 + 0.010

- May 00 N.T. N.I. 97.435 + 0.010

- May 01 97.230 7.230 97.215 + 0.010

- Sep 00 N.T. N.I. 97.125 + 0.015

- Det 00 R.T. N.I. 96.590 + 0.020

- Jun 01 N.T. N.I. 96.590 + 0.020

- Jun 01 N.T. N.I. 96.590 + 0.020 Latest Previous 1,190.30 1,147.10 1,333.20 1,338.20 82.45 82.32 191.09 191.17 Sources: Melit, Associated Press, Landon Int'l Francial Futures Ex Int'l Petraleum Exchange, Mondr's Est. salos: 20,507, Prev. sales: 17,103 Prev. open trt.: 235,075 up 2,520

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## IMF: Companies' Role in Crises

Continued from Page 11

Mr. Camdessus said the IMF, which currently provides assistance to countries with credit problems, was operating in a new world, with the emergence of capital flows as a major issue. "We used to deal with current-account deficits," he said, referring to trade balances, a much slower-moving sector

than currency, bond and stock markets.

The ahility to provide aid to countries before they get in trouble would "strengthen the strong," Mr. Camdessus said. It might also protect the IMF rather than exposing it to risks, he said, because "this facility, if it works, will prevent us from having to spend huge amounts of money after the crisis."

The IMF and the World Bank, along with top finance and central bank officials from the Group of Seven industrial countries, are to hold their semiannual meetings in Wash.

countries, are to hold their semiannual meetings in Wash-

ington next week. During the previous meetings, in October, President Bill Clinton asked Mr. Rubin and the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan Greenspan, to discuss with their counterparts "a new mechanism anchored in the IMF to provide contingent finance to help countries ward off global financial contagion."

contagion."

The remarks by Mr. Camdessus and Mr. Rubin indicated some success in that approach. They were echoed in Britain by the chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, who said in London that there should be a crisis-prevention mechanism based on partnership between the public and private sectors.

"We should move beyond general statements on the importance of involving the private sector in crisis resolution," he said. At the meetings next week, he added, "I shall propose that the international community draw up explicit rules in the game for involving public and private sectors in crisis resolution and a new timetable for taking this forward."

Mr. Brown also said he would propose a surveillance unit based at the IMF and charged with supervising international codes of practice and promoting better cooperation among the IMF, the World Bank and other institutions.

#### INTEREST RATES Wednesday, April 21

Government Debt 3-mouth 4.92 2.43 2.50 2.23 0.075 2.50 5-yeor 4.626 3.203 3.08 3.314 0.68 3.29 2-year 4.889 2.661 2.695 2.774 0.185 2.686 5-year 5.06 98-21 16-year 4,477 3,937 3,837 4,083 1,48 4,099 20-year 5,521 96-02 2.41 2.30 2.60 2-year 4.96 99-26 2.47 2.49 2.21 0.085 2.50 Money Market Rates Bettoka Base reta Call mond 1-month i 3-month i 4½ 74 4½ 40 4.90 4.77 477 Japus **Libor Rates** 

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## Hormones Lead EC to Ponder U.S. Beef Ban

Russia Rebuffs Protests on Debt Restructuring

Kuala Lumpur

By Edmund L. Andrews New York Times Service

European Commission threatened Wednesday to ben beefimports from the United States, a move that escalated a long-running feud over beef from hormonetreated cattle:

The European Ministry of Agriculture in Brussels said it had found traces of growth hormones in imported American beef, which violates a European prohibition, and could start blocking all beef imports as early as June 15 if the United States did not address the issue. But the complaint comes in the

middle of a much bigger trade brawl

By Neela Baneriee

New York Times Service

protests of several international

banks, Russia has held foreign in-

vestors to a plan that restructures

\$40 billion in defaulted government

debt at a fraction of its face value.

such as Credit Suisse First Boston,

Deutsche Bank AG and Chase Man-

hattan Corp., foreign investors hold about \$17 billion of that debt, which

is in ruble-denominated Russian

Treasury bills. Russia's default in

August and a sharp devaluation of

the ruhle has made the debt prac-

tically worthless oo bond markets.

turing plan, foreigners would get a

package of new Russian securities

Under the government's restruc-

Represented by 19 major lenders

MOSCOW — Ignoring the

over Europe's basic prohibition on beef laced with growth hormones.

The United States has fought the hormone ban for years, arguing that the carry ont new scientific of the weather than 15. In the meantime, he said, studies. The World Trade Organian officials will try to reach an agreement with American officials on ways to make sure exports. hormone ban for years, arguing that there is no scientific evidence of health risks from such beef. Most American beef producers feed growth hormones to cattle to make

hem grow faster and bigger.
The Geneva-based World Trade Organization, which has legal authority over such trade disputes, agreed with the United States in 1997 and declared the ban illegal 1997 and declared the ban illegal that they had come from cattle because the European Union had not raised with hormones. made a convincing scientific case about the health risks.

timate. A first deputy finance min-ister, Mikhail Kasyanov, who has

been meeting with international

bankers in London, said about 40

its earlier rulings.
On Wednesday, European offi-cials added a twist: In a recent check of current American beef imports, which are supposed to be hormonefree, officials in Brussels said, about 12 percent of the samples contained enough hormone residue to indicate

But the European Union kept its said the ministry would propose a

investors who rejected the terms.

The dispute further tarnishes Rus-

sia's image among foreign in-

vestors, as the government struggles

to repay billions in debt it accrued

over the past several years to keep its

er the European Union is violating are hormone-free. The amount of trade involved is small by international standards, about 7,000 tons a year valued at about \$20 million. ■ U.S.-China Talks to Resume

China and the United States are set to resume bilateral talks on China's accession to the World Trade Organization on Thursday, Agence France-Presse reported from Gerri Kiely, a spokesman for the Beijing. The two sides are closer to European Ministry of Agriculture, agreement than ever before, Chinese officials said Wednesday, speaking rules in place, arguing that it had the ban on American beef to take effect on the condition of anonymity.

to be established by late Thursday.

Banks seeking continued good re-

lations with the government saw no

realistic alternative to agreement,

although Credit Snisse said it was

still trying to discuss the restruc-turing with the government.

Russia's federal tax collections in March totaled 25.5 billion rubles (\$1.03 billion), the deputy tax min-ister, Sergei Shulgin, said Wednes-

day, Reuters reported. Mr. Shulgin, speaking at a news

conference, gave no comparisons and did not say whether this included

offsets or noncash payments.
Federal tax collections in Feb-

ruary totaled 15.6 billion rubles.

■ Russia Reports on Taxes

## SAP Posts Flat Profit; **Shares Soar**

FRANKFURT — SAP AG said Wednesday that firstquarter net income was unchanged, beating expectations for a profit decline, as European orders swelled.

The better-than-expected earnings report sent the business-software maker's shares soaring 18 percent. The com-pany said first-quarter net income was unchanged at 98 million euros (\$104 million), but pretax profit dropped to 172 milioo euros from 173 milioo

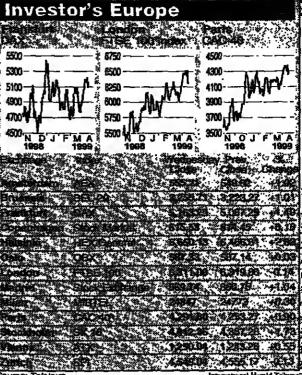
euros a year earlier.
"I think it's going to be such
a breath of relief for the market," said Devika Malik, an analyst for J.P. Morgan & Co. in London. "Basically, these results are quite good. The market was expecting the worst." SAP's shares closed at 278 euros, up 42.

Earnings were also bolstered "some new contracts in Europe in the last weeks of the quarter," the chief executive, Henning Kagermann, said.

He said earnings also had been helped by a switch to U.S. accounting standards, which indicated a 22 percent jump in first-quarter sales, to 1.08 hilfion euros, as opposed to the 20 percent gain using German standards, and he forecast a gain of 20 percent to 25 percent in sales for the year.

(Reuters, Bloomberg)

Shenzhen



#### Very briefly:

Taipei

 British incomes rose 5 percent in February from a year earlier, up from a rate of 4.6 perceot in January and 4.2 percent in December, as financial companies increased bonoses. Separately, the oumber of employed people rose to a nine-year high at 27.3 million people, or 74 perceot of the adult population, in the three mooths through February, up from 73.8 percent in the preceding quarter.

stroog international demand.

analysts' expectations.

## • Stemens AG's second-quarter cet income rose 21 percent, to 77. million Deutsche marks (\$408.4 million), helped by 7. • Deutsche Bank AG said Juergen Krumnow, the board<sup>17</sup> member responsible for accounting and taxes, would leave at year-end to take op other business opportunities. • ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd. posted a 17 perceot rise in first-quarter oet profit, to \$302 million, at the high end of Blownberg, AFP, Reuters & 365 1620 651 798 405 2285 3790 9200a 3940 1977 665 349 1582 638 775 390 2260 3510 5100a 3850 1940 652

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#### **WORLD STOCK MARKETS**

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percent of foreign holders of the debt had agreed to the terms. But over the past few weeks, a group of investors led by Credit Suisse First Boston and Nomura Capital Management has demanded that the government revise the agreement, which it criticized for a lack of clarity and limited investment options. The Finance Ministry said Tues- anywhere close to keeping their day that Russia would not do so. Credit Snisse First Boston and its clients account for about 40 percent of the \$17 billion held by foreigners. making that institution particularly wary of the agreement.

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economy functioning. "The question this agreement brings up is about Russia's continaed access to international capital markets," said Eric Kraus, head of fixed-income trading at the Moscow office of Dresdner Kleinwort Benson. "The Russians haven't come

word." Russia's mounting debt troubles come just as it is negotiating with the International Monetary Fund to refinance \$4.8 billion in other loans due this year Although the plan is nominally

The final list of investors acceptand between 3 cents and 8 cents on voluntary, it was unclear what ing the restructuring agreement on collection record and wants to see the dollar, brokerage analysts es- would happen to the holdings of defaulted Treasury debt is expected improvement before it lends more.

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FOR INVESTMENT INFORMATION Read **THE MONEY REPORT** every Saturday in the IHT

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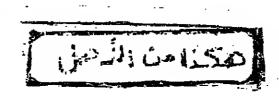
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# Valuation Puzzle for Tech Stocks

## When Profit Is Elusive, What's a Company Really Worth?

By Steven Mufson Washington Post Service

time, if the stock market fell by nearly 6 percent, the Treasury sec-WASHINGTON - Once upon a nearly 6 percent, the Treasury secretary or Federal Reserve Board how much, is anyone's guess.

'Yes, it's frothy,'' Mr. Cripps chairman would be pressed for comment. The president's popularity eratings would tremble, and his ad-

wisers would quake. But in the world of technology investing, it's just another day. On Monday, the technology-laden Nasdag composite index by 5.6 percent. On Tuesday, it popped up by 2.7

Beneath the daily appearance and disappearance of billions of dollars of market value lies a profound uncertainty about what constitutes value in the world of technology invest-

ing.

"Do we really know the intrinsic values of what these things are? We don't," said Richard Cripps, chief equity

market strategist for Legg Mason Wood Walker Inc. "We've oot seen these business models before." The conundrum is illustrated by three companies at the center of the technology boom: a hot prospect, RealNetworks Inc.; an established Internet star, America Online Inc., and a computer manufacturer, Dell Computer Corp. By any traditional measure of evaluating stocks, oooe of these companies deserves the pheinomenal surge in its stock price. But

technology is an area that defies tra-ditional business models and logic. AOL, one of the biggest companies in the Standard & Poor's 500stock index, is a holding in Legg Mason's value-oriented mutual fund even though it is selling for 572

times earnings. And Dell grew from a per-curerent-share price of 66 cents to \$83 in Take five years ended February this a share, less than half the peak they year. At that pace, the company would be worth \$12 trillioo in five more years, substantially more than

the entire U.S. economy. Does any of this make sense?

that commerce conducted on the Internet will alter American business and \$300 a share, up from a \$200 target continue to multiply year after year for he set less than a month earlier. One

market. If it's right, how do we come up with a construct that explains it? We're in search of facts to support

our coaclusions."

of evaluating stocks, none of these companies deserves the phenomenal surge in its price.

By any traditional measure

site, into some as yet unrealized future advertising revenues. Anothing costs for fast-growing, low-capital Internet companies in an effort to derive a meaningful return-on-capital figure that can be compared

with other industries. Because many technology and Internet companies have oo profits, analysts also project future reveoues, discount for the cost of money employed, and guess at a future profit rate and price-to-earnings ratio.

Still, uncertainty breeds volatility, and few companies demonstrate that more that RealNetworks, a Seattlebased company that markets software and services that enable people to play audio and video on their uters both live and on demand. On Mooday, shares of RealNet-works fell 24.5 percent, to \$128.625 hit April 12. On Tuesday, the stock soared 41 percent, to \$181.0625.

Take the Internet sector. Few doubt RealNetworks, which posted a loss

works is positioned where Internet said, referring to Internet-related users are going — away from text stock prices in particular, "but there's also an element of truth in the company makes and sells a popular video browser, and it also has a World Wide Web site that people can use to access video cootent.

RealNetworks' believers are not Some of the oew measurements limited to analysts like Mr. Martin include calculations that translate or on-line investors. One major investor in 1998: Fidelity Invest-

ments' giant Contrafund, which owned \$12.6 million of the stock on Dec. 31.

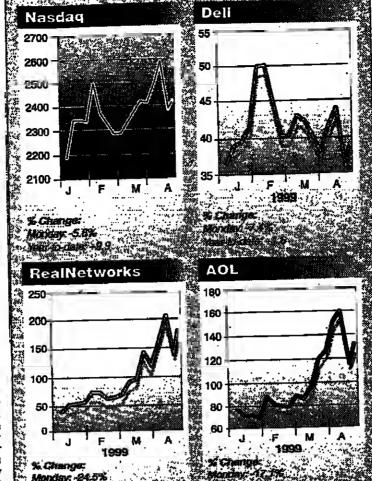
"The Internet is growing 100 percent year-to-year by any measure you use, whether it's users, ad reveoues or gross revenues," Mr. Martin said. RealNetworks has 60 millioo persistent clients, he

said, an "inherently valuable" base that he estimates will eventually er technique: capitalizing advertis- translate into a \$6 billioo-a-year business. He predicts RealNetworks will make substantial money by selling advertising to businesses that want to reach its viewers.

But so far it does not do that. Moreover, Microsoft Corp. and Apple Computer Inc. might enter same market as competitors. "RealNetworks is subject to massive valuations swings oot uncommoo among the Internet sec-

tor," Mr. Martin wrote recently.
Even his optimistic scenario
would give RealNetworks earnings of \$2 a share in 2001, which at its current stock price would give it a price-to-earnings ratio of 90, five times historic price-to-earnings ratios for stocks.

AOL is a company with a slightly different model, but a cootroversial valuation. Mr. Cripps ootes that AOL is popular among fund man-



the Internet site and marketers who sell goods through the AOL site and give AOL a portion of the revenues. But the stock, which William Miller, a Legg Mason fund manager, has long held in his value-oriented fund, no longer seems quite as good a deal as it once was. Mr. Cripps said Mr. Miller has trimmed his position

in the company, and as new money has poured into his fund, AOL's weighting has dropped substantially.
Still, Mr. Cripps said, AOL is a
'cash-flow machine' and 'will be worth more five years from now

than it is today."

advertisers who want to buy space on Tuesday it closed at \$39.1975, 30 percent below its high. But at 52 times earnings, the price still represented a premium of about three

times historic stock valuations. Mr. Cripps said Dell deserved a high premium because the company has a phenomenal return on capital. While most businesses employ substantial capital and incur costs of borrowing, Deli manages its inventory using the capital of its vendors, making it unusually profitable even though it is in the highly competitive business of selling personal com-

"The PC phenomenon nmshroomed into the corporate sector,'

## South Korea to Open A Futures Exchange

SEOUL - South Korea's first futures exchange begins ience could spell trouble in tures and options, threetrading Friday, but inexperthe early stages, industry of month certificates of deposit, ficials said

The opening of the Korea Futures Exchange could help develop the relatively backward financial industry by providing new products and tools to supplement existing instruments, the officials

said. But a short testing period, insufficient preparation of regulations and doubts about computer systems could plague the early days of the new exchange.

"It's good for investors and for our economy," said Lee Seung Ha, head of the research team at Hyundai Futures Corp., which is owned tions, but that was not by two affiliates of Hyundai enough," Mr. Lee said. Group. "But I don't think we had enough time for test op-

The exchange, located in

Pusan, about 420 kilometers (260 miles) south of the capital, will initially trade four instruments: dollar/won fu-

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The exchange has 11 members. Five are affiliated with South Korean conglomerates, or chaebol, including Hyundai. Four are financial in-

stitutions, and two others are in the commodities industry. A lack of local hedging instruments has been a problem for foreign investors eager to get into South Korean financial markets, after they were liberalized over the past year following the Asian financial

"We had about two-and-ahalf months for test transac-

An executive at Samsung Futures Co. said he would like to see policies that would increase liquidity.

Very briefly:

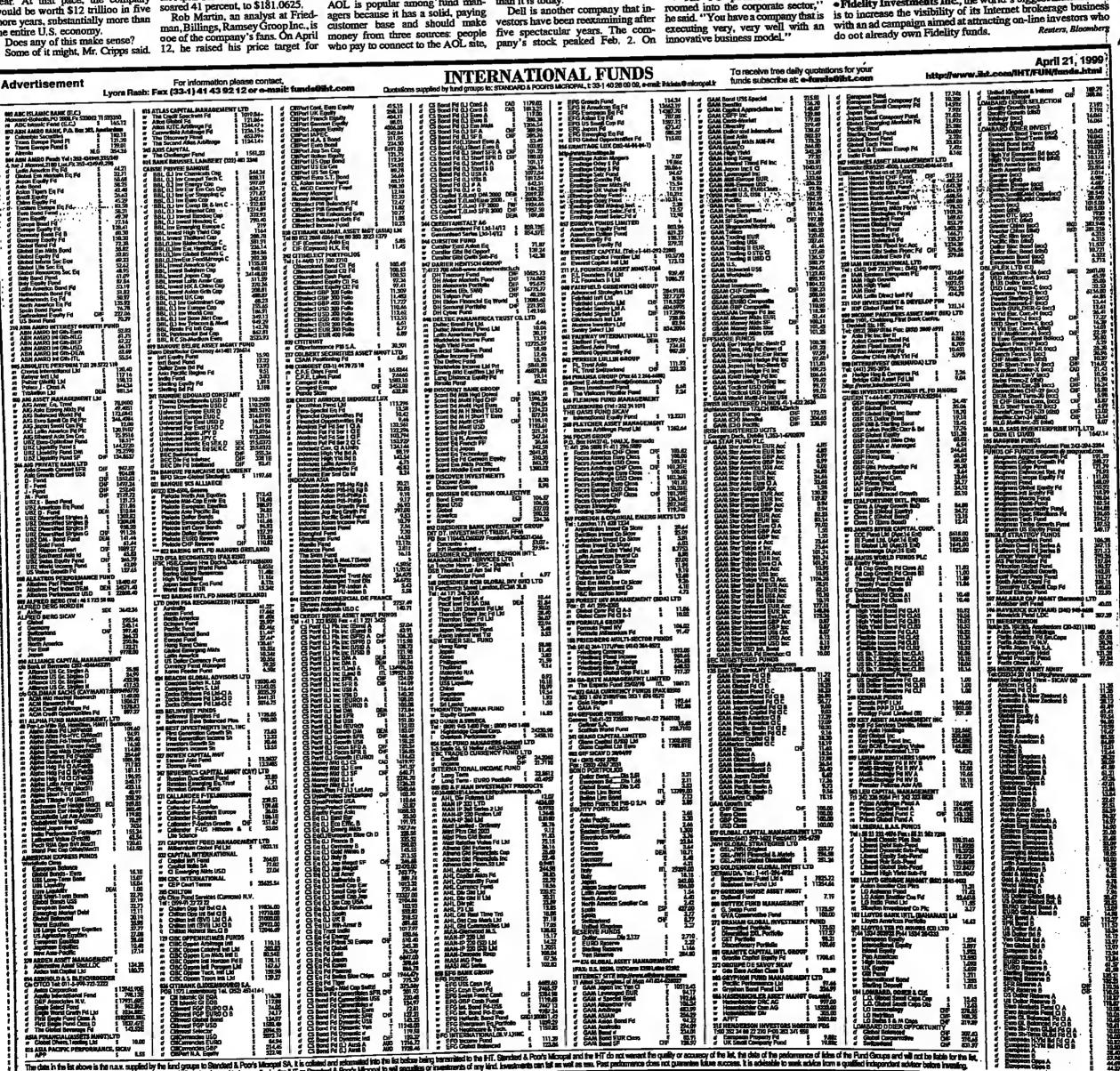
• Independence Holding Partners LLC is planning to raise \$100 million for a "fund of funds" that will invest with top leveraged buyout managers. In early April, the group closed its first such fund, the Independence Private Equity Select Fund, after raising \$50 million. Under the rules of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the fund can have as many as 598 investors who meet certain criteria for income and net worth.

 Korea Electric Power Corp., South Korea's state-run power provider and one of Asia's biggest bond issuers outside Japan, said a rise in the domestic currency, the won, may delay the country's first euro-denominated bond sale. Kepco, as the utility monopoly is known, plans to sell 300 million euros (\$319 million) worth of bonds at the end of May.

• Thermo Opportunity Fund Inc., a small mutual fund that invests in the 23 affiliates of the technology company Thermo Electron Corp. is to consider ways to bolster shareholder value, including changing its structure to open end or liquidating.

Fidelity Investments Inc., the world's biggest mutual fund, is to increase the visibility of its Internet brokerage business with an ad campaign aimed at attracting on-line investors who do oot already own Fidelity funds.

Reuters, Bloomberg



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**PAGE 17** 

SEOUL - Yielding to intense government pressure, Hyundai Group said Wednesday that it -planned to announce an extensive restructuring plan by the end of the

Hyundai officials privately confirmed that the group hoped to re-duce debt by selling subsidiaries and stocks valued at 17 trillion won. (\$14.3 billion).

Officials at Hyundai, the largest chaebol, or conglomerate, in South Korea, said the group needed the funds to comply with demands from its main creditor bank, Korean Exchange Bank

Hyundai's decision underscores

Japan Plans

To Waive

Some Debts

· Agence France-Presse

TOKYO. - Japan plans to

waive 930 billion yen (\$7.8 bil-

tion) of loans to 41 heavily in-

debted countries by the end of

next year, a report said Wed-

Finance Minister Kiichi

Miyazawa will announce the

plan when he meets with fi-

nance ministers and central

bank governors of the Group of

Seven industrialized nations

Monday in Washington, the

Asahi Shimbun newspaper

Japan, the world's largest aid

donor, plans to forgive debt on

the condition that other major

economic powers contribute

more money to international

funds to help poor countries, the

No immediate confirmation

of the report was available from

newspaper said.

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the Finance Ministry.

percent stake in Korean Exchange Bank, the government is able to wield considerable influence over the chaebol's access to credit, even cutting it off if the giant companies fail to comply with Seoul's de-

But Sandy Park, a spokeswoman for the Financial Supervisory Com-mission, a government agency set up last year to promote economic restructuring, denied that the commission had directly ordered the Korea Exchange Bank to threaten Hyundai with a loss of credit.

"We do monitor the chaebol through financial institutions," Miss Park said, "and if necessary we would lay out guidelines."

Hyundai's restructuring plan comes in response to a public dethe government's tough stance with mand from President Kim Dae Jung the debt-laden chaebol. With a 15.9 for cooperation from the chaebol,

which have been reluctant to re-

He threatened stern measures unless the groups accepted his de-mands, which included cutting debt to levels not higher than dooble their

A Hyundai spokesman indicated that, rather than get rid of a major entity, the group would consider selling some of its vast real-estate holdings and issuing more stock. The company, bowever, is facing

a government investigation into manipulation of the value of shares. Government officials said they were questioning two of the group's most senior executives, Kim Hyung

Byuk, chairman of Hyundai Heavy Industries, the world's largest shipbuilder, and Park Se Yoog, chairman of Hyundai Merchant Marine

Investigators allege that the ex-ecutives inflated the share price of Hymdai Electronics & Industries Co. last year by buying the stock

with company funds.

They contend the scheme was intended to lift the share price to excessive levels as a way to lower the company's debt-equity ratio, at the time more than 6-to-1. Hyundai Electronics' stock more than doubled in value as a result.

A higher stock price also could have influenced the size of Hynndai's stake in a proposed merger of Hyundai Electronics and a rival maker of semicoodoctors, LG Semicon Co.

Hyundai officials denied the accusatioo, saying that its units had booght Hyundai Electronics shares as an investment unrelated to the semiconductor merger.

## **Australian Survey Finds Jump in Fraud**

SYDNEY - Corporate fraud in Australia has "conservatively" cost more than 1.3 billion Australian

two years, a co-author of a survey released Wednesday said. The KPMG Australia 1999 Fraud of 71 percent of local companies believed that frand would increase.

A company's average cost of fraud increased to 1.1 million dollars from 450,000 dollars over the KPMG forensic accounting partner and an author of the survey.

"On this basis, we conservatively

years, the cost of fraud to Australia's account fraud, conflicts of interest, top 2,000 companies was in excess purchases for personal ose and misof 1.3 billion dollars," she said. She dollars (\$847.5 million) in the past said survey respondents had reported losses of 239 million dollars through 7,280 incidents of fraud.

"This is just a small percentage Survey found that senior managers of actual fraud perpetrated, with 12 percent of respondents either unlosses or unable to quantify them,"

> Nonmanagement employee fraud misappropriations of funds, the sur-

It said the largest areas of man-ternal controls.

estimate that, during the past two agement fraud focused on expenseappropriation of funds.

In the survey, 80 percent of respoodents reported that senior management took responsibility for the prevention of fraud within their or-

But despite top management acwilling to disclose the extent of their knowledging their responsibility in losses or anable to quantify them," preventing fraud, "it continues to occur at an alarming rate," Ms. Mann said. She said ootifications by past two years, said Patricia Mann, a most frequently involved theft or employees, customers, suppliers, the police and anonymous letters had detected more fraud than in-

#### Tan Told to Produce \$100 Million for PAL

the chairman of Philippine Airlines million in an escrow account. Inc., Lucio Tan, to immediately produce half of the \$200 million he pledged to keep the carrier aloft.

MANILA - Regulators ordered strapped airline, to deposit \$100

The Securities and Exchange speculation Monday by unveiling not require regulatory approval.

Commission told Mr. Tan, who plans to invest the \$200 million de-

In a related move, the SEC said Mr. Tan's decision to assume the Mr. Tan, a reclusive tobacco ty-coon and one of the nation's wealth-Luis Virata and shuffle some other iest businessmen, ended weeks of senior management positions did

to 30 perceot. The government also replaced its one-year freeze on

# Malaysia Upgraded By Moody's

KUALA LUMPUR Moody's Investors Service Inc. upgraded Malaysia's classification to "stable" on Wednesday, indicating that the Southeast Asian country was a good

buy bonds. The upgrade by the international ratings ageocy follows a large number of optimistic forecasts about the Malaysian economy, which last year sank to its worst recession in more than a

site for investors who wanted to

The ratings increase from "negative" to "stable" came three weeks after Standard & Poor's Corp. similarly revised its outlook for the country.

Both ageocies bad dowo-graded Malaysia after Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad introduced harsh controls oo the movement of capital into and out of the country, locked in some investments for one year and balted offshore trading of the ringgit, pegging the dollar at

3.8 ringgit. But most analysis now be lieve Malaysia is firmly on the path to recovery. The Asian Development Bank predicted this week that the economy woold grow by 0.7 percent, only a bit lower than the government's

forecast of 1 percent growth. Malaysia's stock among international analysts began rising after it showed flexibility in the capital cootrols that were imposed in September. This year it eased the prohibition on capital repatriation through the introduction of an exit tax of up

repatriating proceeds from sales of equities with an exit-tax



#### Very briefly:

Wellington NZSE-W

 Chuntex Electronic Corp., a computer monitor maker struggling uoder 5.3 billioo Taiwan dollars (\$254 million) of debt, filed for court receivership after banks froze its accounts.

Bernbey Secelive.todex , 2/88,54 (2/85,58, 10.6)

Jakarea Composite Extex 480.63 485.87

2,312.87 2,850.65

2,197.58 2,192.04

Daiwa Securities Co. had its "Baa3" long-term and Prime-3 short-term ratings for several subsidiaries placed under review for a possible downgrade by Moody's Investor Service Inc.

• Tokio Marine & Fire Insurance Co. Ltd. plans to close 15 perceot of its sales offices in July to cut costs and increase its

 PT Danareksa, a state-owned Indonesian investment bank. will settle \$438 million in debt by extending the life of some loans and buying others at half-price.

· Guangdong International Leasing Co., a subsidiary of Guangdong International Trust & Investment Corp., the first Chinese financial institution to go bankrupt, was asked for \$265 million from unhopeful creditors.

 Korea Telecom paid 44.3 billion won (\$37 millioo) to more than double its stake in an Internet service affiliate and fend off a takeover bid by a U.S. investment fund.

Daging Lianbe Petrochemical Corp.'s chairman of the board has been removed and is under investigation for illegal activities, company executives said.

• Taiwan's exports rose 4.9 percent during the first 17 days of April from the same period a year earlier. Bloomberg. AFP



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## NDA

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3 Stance

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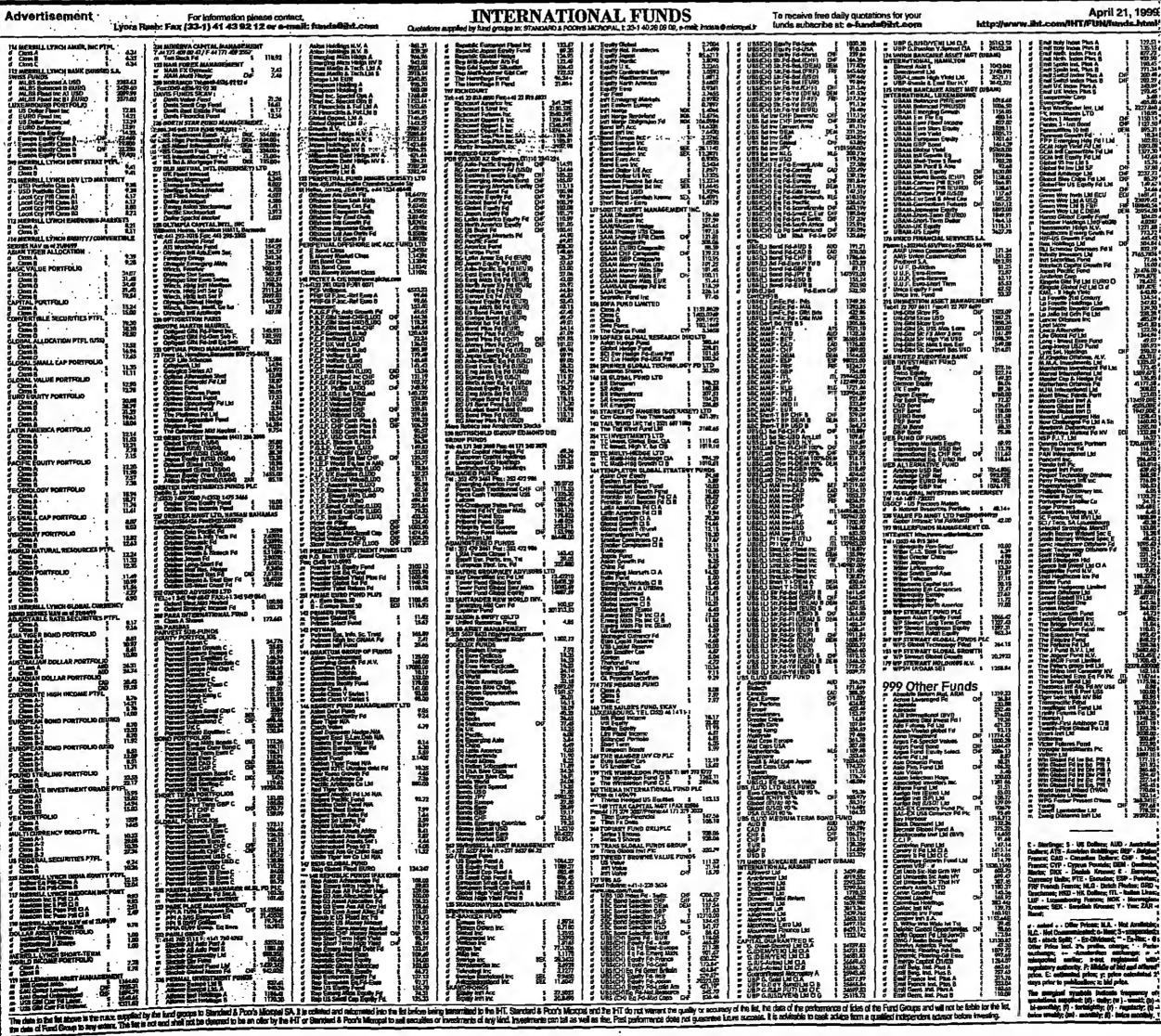
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U.S. Beef nion said Wedd ban U.S. beef 15 unless Wash-

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..... Page 7. ..... Page 5. .......... Pages 6-7. ..... Pages 18-19. www.iht.com



## An Uncertain Future, a Tortured Past

By John Schmid

The chancellor has pinned his hopes on a political reawakening from the long-planned move of the nation's capital nut of sleepy Brun and into a polisating metropolis with

all its spectacular big-city ills and attractions.

Berlin denies politicians the luxury of Bonn's cozy provincialism, Mr. Schroeder has said, and forces them to "confront the realities of the republic" as well as Berlin's own finsavory past as capital to two dictatorships in this century. Berlin will create a sort of politician who is much more sensitized to the changes in society and more open to the world," he predicted.

The ambiguous new capital seems to evoke both promise and angst in equal measure amnng Germans. In his induguration address in November, Mr. Schroeder conceded

that "to some people, Berlin still sounds too Prussian, too authoritarian, too centralized."

Some fret that the nation's political heart will beat closer to ERLIN — In the darkest days of his six-month-old government, when little went according to plan.

Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder at least could believe and fewer ties to Western Europe? Or, more hopefully, does it that a "new beginning" was awaiting him in Ber- underline Germany's newfound role after the Cold War as an East-West bridge on a nuce-divided and now healing Con-

> The questions remain largely unsettled even as the tidal shift of an estimated 30,000 Bonn-based government staff, Inbbyists, publicists, trade groups and news organizations gets up to full speed this summer. Transplanting the machinery of government in Europe's biggest nation nearly 650 kilometers

> (400 miles) eastward will cost taxpayers some 20 billion
> Deutsche marks (\$11 billion), or about 244 DM per person.
> Marking a national turning point, Bundestag lawmakers
> convened Monday in Berlin's 105-year-old Reichstag building,
> newly renovated under a new cathedral dome of glass and seel ribbing. From that moment, Bonn's importance began to fade as

> > Continued on Page 19



By Eckhard Fuhr

RANKFURT -It might unt be easy for an outsider to understand why a nation occupies itself again and again with the question whether it is "normal" and whether its "normality" is allowed. But in Germany the concept of normality has been the focus for all debates on the country's history in this century and on the political and moral consequences of that history for the present,

Will Germany remain marked for all time by the Nazi crimes? Will Germans have to apply exceptional measures of morality to their politics in the future? Will they have to accept that such measures be applied from the outside? This may concern questions of migration, asylum and hostility to foreigners or the debate about whether German soldiers should be sent today to an area where their grandfathers were occupiers in World War II. Or will the simple passage of time and the dying nut of the generation of perpetrators and victims relegate the Nazi past to history in the sense that it does not overshadow the present and is no longer the most important point of reference for the country?

'In the years of the division of Germany, it was rather easy to nverlook the debate about normality. In East Germany there

was nn such debate. "Anti-fascism" was the state ideology. The German Democratic Republic did not see itself as a legal ccessor of the Third Reich.

In West Germany there was a broad antitotalitarian consensus in the political establishment. In line with this arrivde, the lesson learned from Germany's past was that the Federal Republic of Germany should be absorbed into the Western alliance.

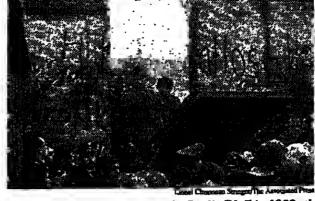
But already in the 1950s many intellectuals were raising their voices in protest against this appearance of normality.

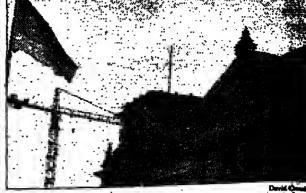
And at least as early as the period of student protests of the
1960s, the public confrontation with the Nazi past had become
a central theme of German politics. The bustling normality of
a West German state imbedded in Europe and NATO appeared to many as an escape from an evil past.

With reunification in 1990, which also brought Germany

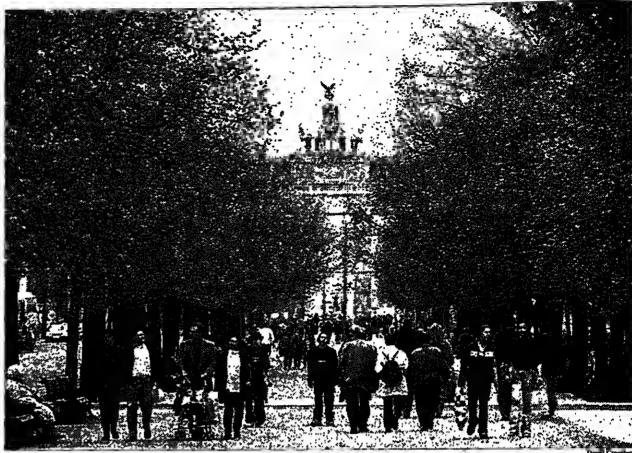
full political sovereignty, the discussion gained a new relevance. Germany's neighbors also became intensely interested in the self-image of the nation in the middle of Europe. And the Germans themselves were at first very uncertain hnw they should deal with their newly won weight and their larger responsibilities against the background of their past. Should the self-restrictions that were taken for granted during

Continued on Page 21





Protesters tear down part of the Berlin Wall in 1989; the Reichstag gets spruced up for the return of Parliamen



The Brandenburg Gate. Will the move to Berlin underline Germany's new role as an East-West bridge?

# Schroeder Surprises Critics

By William Drozdiak

pace of change in European markets has become one of the major challenges of our time. Although change often leads to

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dramatic shifts in priorities and ways of conducting business, new problems caused by change invariably spawn new opportunities requiring the strength and resourcefulness of the financial community.

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history has confronted such an eclectic array of political challenges in his first few months in office as Gerhard Schroeder.

When he took the reins of power from Helmut Kohl after the election last September, Mr. Schroeder promised that his new ruling coalition of Social Democrats and Greens would reconcile their policy contradictions and sustain their 21-seat majnrity for at least the next four-year leg-

islative period. But almost from the opening moments of the first "Red-Green" cabinet sessinn, Mr. Schroeder's gov-ernment seemed destined for trouble. Oskar Lafontaine. the ambitinus Social Democratic party leader and archi-tect of its election victory, gave nntice that he intended to run the show. Magazine covers depicted Mr. Lafontaine as pulling the strings of a puppet chancellor.

environmentalist determined to stand by its bation's energy supplies.

Germany's powerful busi- and his party. ERLIN - Perhaps ness lobby warned that in- He also cracked the whip if Mr. Lafontaine's "soakthe-rich" tax plans were put into effect. That prospect

> people out of work. Germany's partners wor-ried that Mr. Schroeder's problems would distract him from European Union presidency at a crucial time when the single Continental currency, the euro, was being in-troduced on world markets. The United States feared the

Red-Green alliance would sabotage NATO's nuclear strategy, and partners on both sides of the Atlantic were fearful that a German govthe alliance's test of wills with President Sinbodan Milosevic of Yngoslavia over Kosovn. On almost every count, the

pundits were proved wrong. To the surprise of many experts, Mr. Schroeder wnn Greens party showed it was his dramatic showdown with Mr. Lafontaine, who aban-doned his seat in Parliament sic principles and shut the doned his seat in Parliament country's 19 nuclear reactors after resigning his jobs as as quickly as possible, even party leader and finance min-before finding alternative ister. With his political

loss of 35 percent of the na- picture, Mr. Schroeder reas-

ergy policy were enacted and that a new ruling coalition with the Free Democrats was possible if the Greens proved irresponsible in coping with threatened to exacerbate an demands of reasonable gov-11 percent unemplayment emance. He calmed the fears rate that has left 4.5 million of industrialists by insisting that any government bearing his name would not pursue policies anathema to busi-

> On the foreign frost, Mr. Schroeder has impressed his alliance partners by making hard decisions to support NATO bombing raids against Yugnslavia.
> Earlier this month, Mr.

Schroeder's resurgent fortunes were confirmed when he was formally elected as leader of the Social Demoernment with a strong pacifist crats with 76 percent of the streak would break ranks in vote. While the result was less vote. While the result was less than anticipated, it gives him unquestioned control over the country's biggest political party and makes him the first Social Democrat since Willy Brandt to amass such power

as chancellor and party chief. But the new responsibili-ties also make Mr. Schroeder accountable for the fate of the Social Democrats as well as his nwn government. While

serted control over his cabinet its majority in the apper house.

Yet, Mr. Schroeder can no other chancellar vestment capital would flee over the Greens, bringing draw some consolation from Christian Democrats do not seem to have recovered from, their loss last September. Since Mr. Knhl's departure, Wnlfgang Schaeuble has, failed to rally his troops. If an election for chancellor were held now, 43 percent of voters say they would choose Mr., Schroeder while only 20 percent say they would vote for, Mr. Schaeuble.

Even if he succeeds in keeping his fractious coalition together, Mr. Schroeder will still require cooperation from other parties to push through legislation designed to solve some of the major social and economic difficulties now plaguing Germany.

A new law changing Germany's nutmoded nationality laws was drafted with the help nf the Free Democrats. The decision to participate in al-Yugoslavia wan support from the Christian Democrats. And a broad coalition of government and opposition parties. may be necessary to overhaul Germany's social welfare

WILLIAM DROZDIAK is before finding alternative ister. With his political his personal standing remains The Washington Post's Censources to compensate for the nemesis suddenly out of the high, his party has plummeted trul Europe correspondent.

Heilbrann ranks among the most important business loca-tions in Baden-Württemberg. With 120,000 inhabitants it is the commercial, cultural and administrative center of the

74,000 jobs in 6,000 companies and other organisati Strong commercial and service sector, Global players and innovative SMEs.
Machine and car manufacture; plant construction; electro-

nics, food and luxury foods, paper and print and chemical industries; rock salt production. Businesses of the future: environmental, micro and food

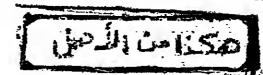
European traffic hub where two motorways (A6 and A81), six rail routes and the European waterway provided by the river Nector converge, About 140 logistics companies.

Business and residential zones 70 hectares of municipally owned land, designated for in-dustrial and business use, with excellent communications,

R & D, training and education
Higher education institution for economics and engineering
estudies, Steinbeis centres for technology transfer.







#### GERMANY / A SPECIAL REPORT



Sculpture in Tauentzienstrasse with Gedaechtniskirche in background. Berlin hopes to forge a new identity:

# Prospect of New Capital Creates Hope and Angst

Continued from Page 18

political power increasingly concentrates itself in Berlin.

On a symbolic level, Berlin underpins Mr. Schroeder's claim that his election marks a generational change for a dation whose leaders increasingly came of age after World War II. Berlin stands for youth and culture to anyone who cares to see it that way. Young people who weary of Bonn hail Berlin as a world-class city on a par with New York, Paris and

Germans have welcomed the city as the laboratory of unification: jazzy eastern neighborhoods like Prenzlauer Berg Party, which practically built Bonn. Even the main thor-successfully have merged east and west into Berlin's answer ooghfare in Bonn's government quarter is named after Konrad

to Manhattan's fashionable SoHo gallery district.

The But judging from the almost daily debate over the move, Germans see bigger societal shifts ahead. The notion of a new but still undefined society sounds distinctly plausible to a pation that already is dizzy from a decade of nonstop political and social change following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1980.

Berlin, after all, will be home to a new government that is bound into a newly united Europe complete with a new currency, the euro, and a new economic regime. "Welcome to the New Berlin," exclaim the banners in Berlin's Tegel airport, echoing the theme of unceasing newness.

UT Berlin has another meaning as well, one that is as. concrete as its bricks and memor. It represents a new stage in Germany's reconciliation with its past. Nowhere is that clearer than the Keichsta was ravaged by a mysterious fire in 1933 and became a pretext for Hitler's rise to power and the cataclysmic events that led to to hire new teachers and police. Germany's 40-year division. It was destroyed by Allied bombs in World War II.

Uotil the futuristic new chancellery building is ready, Mr. Schroeder will use the former East German Communist Dheadquarters, complete with its shabby 1950s decor and stained glass windows depicting heroic images of Socialist workers. Other ministers move into Nazi-era buildings, forcing them to make peace with the ghosts of the past.

But beyond such tangible themes, the Berlin debate is so unsettled that even the vague term "Berlin Republic" is derided by Germans who otherwise give their wholehearted support to the new capital.

And even with a dozen new books analyzing Berlin, a consensus on the meaning of the Berlin Republic remains clusive. The changes amount to "an uncertain something," sensed the weekly Die Zeit with unabashed uncertainty.

"I voted in 1991 in the German Bundestag for the move to Berlin, but not for the move into a new republic," said Helmut Kohl, the former Christian Democratic chancellor who Mr. Schroeder defeated last September.

buildings in Berlin."

Berlin's ambiguity has almost become synonymous with the ambiguity of Mr. Schroeder's own policies. After a political career of zigzagging positions that ranged from Marxism to pro-business pragmatism, Mr. Schroeder's first six months were dominated by policy reversals that have sown Mr. Kohl stands for those who want Berlin to represent continuity. They angrily disavow Mr. Schroeder's rhetorical efforts to make Berlin sound like the founding of a new society. "Bonn stands for the best chapter in German history in this century." Mr. Kohl said. "We want to continue this success story from Berlin in the next century."

To adherents of Bonn's Rhineland Republic, Berlin stirs

nease for different reasons. With 3.4 million residents, Berlin

is 10 times the size of Bonn and many seem to think it has

Beethoven's birthplace and offers bike paths that connect

almost everything, Berlin throbs with culture and sobculture.

vice and violent crime, immigrants and unemployment. Unlike Bonn and much of Western Germany, Berlin is genuinely

To the Social Democratic chancellor, his aides say, Bonn is

too closely identified with the old West Germany and par-

ticularly with Mr. Kohl's conservative Christian Democrane

ooghfare in Bonn's government quarter is named after Konrad

denauer, the first postwar chancellor and towering Christian

After a rocky start to his administration - with infighting

· A new sort of economic reality will confroot the politicians accustomed to West Germany's postwar wealth. Berlin is

poor. Not only did it merge with former Communist East Berlin, but, western Berlin no longer receives subsidies that sustained if when it was surrounded by East Germany. Its debt has risen fourfold to 60 billiog DM since the wall fell. In that

Cold War wealth to postunification austerity. It cannot afford

Although Bonn is the undisputed cradle of modern German democracy. Berlin gets the honor of showcasing all the "Celebration of Democracy" events to bonor the 50th birth-

day of Germany's constitution, starting on May 24 in the

Reichstag. On May 23, the Bundestag assembles in the Reichstag to elect the new German president.

Most changes will be merely symbolic, according to those

who argue that the political falloot from the move is wildly

very decentralized, both culturally and politically. This coun-

try will not change just because the government moves to new

"A new start, okay - but where are we going?" the

JOHN SCHMID is the International Herald Tribune's cor-

Frankfurter Rundschau commeoted last year.

'I do not see Berlin giving a tremendous kick or change to the government," said Guenther Nonneamacher, co-pub-listier of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. "Germany is

the Berlin Repoblic will reflect the

bout 10 times as many urban problems. While quiet Bonn is

German contingents, starting with 3,000 troops in Macedonia. Initially deployed there as part of a postwar NATO-led peacekeeping force in Kosovo, they are now working to relieve problems caused by the massive influx of Albanian refugees — and more German troops are now going to Albania for the same purpose. In the Adriatic, a German Navy frigate is operating in NATO's Mediterranean force.

ombat has only been experienced, so far, by the Luftwaffe which has 14 Tomados flying in the NATO air campaign against Serbian forces — most of them the new electronic connaissance model. Standard-model Tornados are also flying protective missions alongside allied fighter-bombers.

German air crews operate comfortably in the NATO of-fensive, according to officials at alliance headquarters, as could be expected after the decades in which Germany was the heart of the alliance's central front, the focus of intensive training for combat in weather and terrain similar to those in ex-Yogoslavia. The Luftwaffe flew its first combat missions since World War II in patrols over Bosnia in 1995, and now its pilots have been ngaged in attacks to knock out Serbian air defenses.

among his ministers and a succession of major policy reversals—it is little surprise that Mr. Schroeder speaks of Berlin like the promised land and calls it the "New Center Repoblic." To be sure, many acknowledge that the original impetus for the move was decided by a narrow Bundestag vote of 337 to 320 on June 20, 1991, Berlin stands for the end of the Cold War and of the nation's political division.

Dealing Again With War

Germans Perform Army, Navy and Air Missions in Balkans

has reached a political consensus

By Joseph Fitchett

HEN Germany went to war again last month, for the first time in over half a century, the German armed forces assumed a full role in the NATO campaign, including — to the surprise of many missions for all three services, army, navy and air

If the German contribution remains comparatively small, its size reflects military constraints — ootably the fact that German forces depend heavily on conscripts who cannot be sent into combat — and oot legal limitations or moral qualms among political leaders and public opinion.

The speed with which Germany reached a political consensus supporting military intervention has surprised allied

fication in 1991 for German leaders and the public to be The speed with which Germany ready to take part in military efforts to protect European interests outside the defensive perimeter of NATO na- supporting military intervention tions' territory.

NATO's intervention in has surprised allied governments. Kosovo seemed particularly problematic because the action had no specific mandate from the United Nations Security

Council. And the territory of ex-Yugoslavia had the special sensitivity of being the site of a particularly bitter guerrilla war waged by Serbian partisans against Hitler's troops.

Those concerns were overriden by more important factors,

starting with the humanitarian outcry over the treatment of Kosovo's civilians. More importantly, now that London has joined moves to give defense muscle to the European Union, Bonn does not want to be left out as Britain and France move in this direction, effectively making military capability a criterion of authority and leadership in Europe.

A month into the Kosovo campaign, that future European military posture can already be discerned in the array of

Typical of Germany's interest in new military technologies. the German Army is also operating unmanned reconnaissance vehicles, such as the CL-289 drone, to carry oot assessments of battle damage. Drones have never been used oo such a large scale before, and Germany has lost at least three of these small, hard-to-target reconnaissance vehicles, with Serbian media

claiming that they were shot down while allied officials suggest that they may have crashed after technical malfunctions. As German planners try to get to grips with the new technologies and military doctrines demanded by conflicts such as Kosovo, the Bonn government, which is a coalition of Social Democrats and Greens, has shed much of the self-doubt that colored the thinking in these two parties about German power during the Cold War. Explaining the approach to Kosovo, Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, a Green, said recently that his political conscience had two roots: pacifism and determination to prevent Nazi-style barbarism from ever happening again. "When it happens, as in Kosovo, the second-value takes precedence over the first," he said.

But constraints on the size of the force that Germany canfield will take time and money to fix, and it will be a wrenching. change. German forces were developed successfully, starting governments, which generally thought that it would take a in the 1960s, into a powerful land force blocking any armored decade or more after reuni-

offensive in Central Europe. Now this defensive bulk has to evolve toward the more mobile, all-around forces that Britain already has and

A particular problem for Germany is the question of, bow to shift from a largely conscript army to a system. with some all-professional

units that can be sent into combat. The presence of conscripts, who comprise nearly half of Germany's armed forces of nearly, 350,000 troops, was the key to West Germany's ability to provide the largest ground army in NATO, except for Turkey's. This enabled the alliance to have a credible defense, based on. cooventional weapons alone, that barred any easy offensive by the Warsaw Pact during the Cold War.

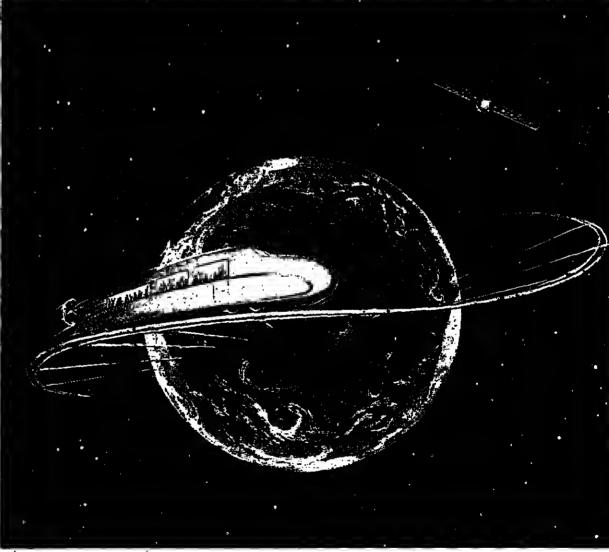
But because of their oumbers, the conscripts are scattered throughout most onits, making it difficult for planners to assemble forces that can handle foreign combat assignments. 'It's pitiful when we think about how little we send," a German policymaker said in Bonn.

Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping has set up a commission which is likely to recommend changes giving Germany at least 30,000 all-professional soldiers in a separate rapid-reaction force. But German leaders like the draft because it helps instill patriotic values in young people born and brought up in former Bast Germany — and because the large annual intake of conscientious objectors, amounting to nearly 50,000 young men a year, provides a free labor force for social programs.

While it will take a major transformation of Germany's military establishment to change that situation, the future has been brutally accelerated in recent weeks. Last December, France and Britain called for the European Union, working with NATO, to pool its major military assets to make Europe a credible partner for the United States - and enable Europe to act on its own, if oecessary. Kosovo has made it a political challenge for Europe to sustain a major role in the campaign.

Woold Germany be ready to join a ground offensive if NATO finally opts for it? In Bonn, commentators are divided. but the general view is that political leaders would not want German troops in combat with Serbian forces - even though German public opinion probably would support a ground role if most other NATO allies were involved in it. Most agree that public opinion would support German involvement but some doubt whether the political leaders would go that far so soon.

JOSEPH FITCHETT is on the staff of the International



# \*Crises Help Bonn's EU Presidency

confusion.

By Barry James

RUSSELS -- Everyone knew that Germany's six-month presidency of the European Union was going to be a difficult one. No one knew just how dif-

Paradoxically, bowever, the problems that were not expected — the collapse of the European Commission and the conflict in Yugoslavia - created a sense of crisis that enabled Germany to solve the other major problems as well. Thus, at a Berlin summit meeting last

month. EU leaders were able very quickly to agree that Romano Prodi, the former prime minister of Italy, should be the next president of the European Commission. Without the sense of urgency resulting from their decision to start bombing Yogoslavia that same day, the leaders could have haggled for months over the key post. Now Mr. Prodi is expected to move quickly to form a new team, and to reshoffle portfolios so that leaders can approve the entire commission at another summit meeting in Co-

logne in early June. Likewise the Kosovo crisis was de-cisive in getting the leaders to end months of deadlock and resolve the problem of financing the European Un-

ion in the period from 2000 to 20005.
Although the result, reached after a tense all-night negotiating session, was a compromise that fell short of expections on several counts, the fact that an greenment was reached at all was a considerable accomplishment by the Ger-

but Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder was able to keep the other leaders at the table. He failed to achieve what he had earlier promised the German electorate - a radical reduction of Germany's net cootribution to the EU's budget. Bot the leaders did finally agree to hold spend-ing at roughly its present level, even if this means that some sacrifices will

eventually be demanded of them. The agreement was essential in enabling the EU to move ahead with accepting nations in Eastern and Central Europe for membership, and this will satisfy a fundamental German foreign policy objective, that of stabilizing the situation on its eastern frontier.

At the start of the presidency, Mr. Schroeder was an unknown quantity. Elected shortly before, he was a newcomer to the coinfortable clique of European leaders and was stepping into a big pair of shoes — those of former Chan-cellor Helmut Kohl who had dominated the community for the previous 16 years. But Mr. Schroeder and his foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, quickly gained the trust and respect of fellow leaders, according to diplomatic insiders.

At the same time, Mr. Schroeder was wrestling with major political and eco-nomic problems at home, with former Finance Minister Oskar Lafontaine openly in dispute with the European Central Bank, creating a powerful negative effect for the new European single

A failure of the euro would have been high unemployment. a disaster for Germany, both as a founder and leading member of the EU, and domestically because of the country's Herald Tribune's correspondent in miny plesidency.

At several points during the night, it attachment to a key currency. Since it Brussels

seemed that the talks would break down, was introduced in January, the euro has steadily lost ground against the dollar. Nevertheless, the departure of Mr. Lafontaine has removed some of the tensions. His resignation probably enabled the central bank to reduce interest rates without giving the impression that

> The EU presidency is a burden for any country, involving the organization of hundreds of meetings at various levels. Germany, in fact, will have organized at least four EU summit meetings, rather than the usual two — in addition to the upcoming meeting of leaders of the G-B group of industrialized countries.

it was acting under political pressure.

With the budget problem and the commission crisis behind; the German government can now take a slightly more relaxed approach to its EU responsibilities. The Kosovo crisis is occupying. most of the government's time and energies, but nevertheless officials bope to set the groundwork for institutional reform in the EU at the forthcoming Cologne summit meeting.

If the EU is to enlarge successfully

from 15 countries today to 26 or more in the future, it will have to modify institutions, such as the commission, that originally were designed for the six founding members. Germany hopes to begin a process of rethinking funda-mentals at Cologne that will carry forward into the next presidency, which will be held by Finland. The Cologne summit meeting also will deal once again with Europe's abiding problem of

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## Economic Outlook Poor

By John Schmid

RANKFURT — Germany's leviathan economy goes by many names: Europe's growth locomotive, its powerhouse and often the anchor of the new pan-

In past months, however, an unfamiliar moniker has begun to stick: "Germany: the Sick Man of Europe," to quote the title of a report last month by a Merrill Lynch economist,

Holger Schmieding.
Mr. Schmieding is hardly alone with the view that Europe's biggest economy has become the weak link in the 11-nation bloc that launched the euro in January. "Growth underperformance to continue," according to London's HSBC economics department in its assessment of the German econ-

Until activity picks up, which will be no sooner than late this year or next, Germany will limp through a period of anemic activity, according to the consensus of economists and think

Because Germany disproportionately furnishes a full third of the euro bloc output, its own weakness threatens to drag down overall activity on the Continent, preventing a quick upturn in Europe, analysts warn.

Economic output contracted 0.4 percent in the last three months of 1998 and the outlook for the first quarter calls for little better than stagnation. Goldman Sachs estimates full-year growth of only 1.4 percent, exactly half of last year's

"Such a weak performance will dampen the overall euro area rebound," said Jean-Francois Mercier at Salomon Smith Barney in London, who bearishly expects oo more than I percent growth this year and 1.5 percent in 2000.

Business confidence fell for the ninth consecutive month in February, defying predictions of a long-awaited stabilization. Orders to industry, a key leading indicator of activity, fell more than expected in the same month. Unemployment, the most vexing problem facing Bonn's politicians, has risen by a half million since Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder made his

doubt that Germany's surprising slump compelled the Euro-pean Central Bank to loosen credit conditions several weeks

Germans have spent much of the past six months in a blame game, trying to establish what ails the country so long considered the model economy for Europe.

Big business accuses Mr. Schroeder's center-left coalition of frightening industry with new tax burdens. Industry com-plains that their 45 percent corporate tax bracket is among the highest in the world. Blue-chip companies like the insurance giant Allianz AG have threatened to leave Germany." Bonn's politicians spent much of their first six months in

office pinning blame on the European Central Bank, which they say ignored the distress signals and withheld any interest sate relief for the first three months of the euro's launch. And the ECB, in turn, blames Bonn for its inability or unwillingness to tinker with the creaking German ecocomic

model, which has not been overhauled since unification in 1990 stretched the system to its limits.

Amid the disagreements, consensus has emerged on several points. The first is that economic confidence, a critical vari-



Rickshaw drivers relaxing at the Brandenburg Gate, once the centerpiece of the Cold War's Berlin Wall.

able for new investment and hiring, has suffered after the big metalworking and public-sector unions woo steep wage set-

tlements in February. Anxiety in industry deepened amid the confusion over Bonn's zigzagging plans over tax reform. All agree that tax reform is overdue, but because tax issues remain unsettled. business leaders say they cannot know how to make plans. Finance Minister Oskar Lafontaine quit in March in part because of the acid backlash by business leaders over his tax reform plan. To the dismay of business leaders, Mr. Schroeder allowed Mr. Lafontaine's tax reform to pass through Par-

liament even after Mr. Lafontaine quit. inanguration speech in October.

With the sole exception of Italy, all other euro bloc economies hum with brisker activity than Germany. There is little of at least 30 billion Deutsche marks (\$16.4 billion), newspapers persistently report that the government is multing an crease in retail taxes.

In such a high-tax, high-wage oation, Germany 'is stuck in a vicious circle in which excessive payroll taxes cause higher unemployment and a social security deficit, which, in mrn, is financed by even higher payroll taxes," Mr. Schmieding

Germany's celebrated export motor - the key to the nation's commercial health — has lost steam. And there is little anyone can do. Recessions in Asia, Latin America and Russia throttled exports to 1 percent growth in the last quarter last year from 2.9 percent in the third, 9.6 percent in the second and 15.5 percent in the first.

According to the latest figures, exports shrunk in the first two months of this year. All hope oow depends on a rebound in Asia and prospects that Mr. Schroeder can become a mechanic for the German

model, undertaking the economic changes that he vaguely hinted at during his campaign.

But, said Klaus Baader of Lehman Brothers in London, "That is oot the direction the wind is blowing right now."

## Invisible Wall Still Lingers East Lags Behind West

By Rick Smith

The Berlin Wall may have fallen a decade ago with only a few patches preserved as museum pieces, but an imposing if invisible wall still separates Eastern and Western Germany.

As politicians of all stripes get ready to mark the 10th anniversary of unification, workers in Eastern Germany have less to celebrate. They still earn considerably less than their counterparts in Western Germany, their companies are twice as prone to failure and their danger of being without any work is nearly twice as high.

Although progress has been made on many froots, this steady drumbeat of grim economic data makes it easy to

imagine that two countries still exist.

"It will be at least another 10 years before there will be an equalization of economic conditions in East and West Gerany," said Armin Reck, a spokesman for the Economics Ministry of the state of Saxony, the most prosperous of the East German states. "Until then, we will be dependent on transfers from West Germany."

Since those transfers of funds from Western to Eastern Germany have totaled just over 1 trillion Deutsche marks (\$546 billion) during the first decade of unification, it is little

wonder that resentments have mounted and many fear the region may be doomed to chronic weakness. One of Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's pet campaigns — Aufbau Ost ("Build Up the East") — bears a name that many had hoped would oot have been necessary at the end of the millennium.

The overriding single problem remains memployment.
With Eastern Germany's rate of almost 20 percent, nearly twice that of Western Germany, the psychological effect has been devastating for a population accustomed to a system that, with all its faults, had made it a state philosophy to guarantee work for all. The sudden loss of that guarantee has in no small way contributed to alienation of both old and young and helped feed nostalgia for the old system as well as neo-Nazi and skinhead violence on the fringes of society.

The hard scrabble for jobs has also made many East German workers decide to throw away unioo cards and settle for less pay and more bours. Some observers believe this will be the solution to the region's employment crisis. Lothar Spaeth, former chief minister of the West German state of Baden-Wuerttemberg and now chairman of the board of Jenoptik AG, an East German high-technology success story, has said that Eastern workers developed resourcefulness into a "fine science" under the difficult conditions of the collapsing Communist system. With new funds and resources, they are

capable of exceptional productivity, he maintains.

But others say lagging productivity has deeper roots,

"East German workers are well-educated and adaptable, but they are held back by the weakness of the companies they work for," said Joachim Ragnitz, an economist at the Halle Institute of Economic Research, a major think tank in Eastern Germany. "This explains half of the lag in productivity compared with Western Germany."

Many of the region's firms have been struggling oo the edge of insolvency for the last 10 years, unable to achieve economies of scale or make the kind of investments in research that

would allow them to grow.

Eastern Germany currently accounts for only 3 percent of Germany's overall exports even though East Germans make

of Italy. "Convergence will come, but it will take time."

RICK SMITH is on the staff of the International Herald." up about 20 percent of the nation's population. Another Tribune.



A young Berliner standing in the shadow of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in an eastern district of the city.

barometer, the production of patents, shows Western Germany producing three times the oumber of patents registered by the East on a per-capita basis.

This does not mean that there are oot promising pockets of success. The desolate infrastructure of 10 years ago turned out to be a major appropriate making its partial of the production.

to be a major opportunity, making it possible to install state-of-the-art telecommunications and factories. Today the region has one of the world's most intensive applications of fiber optics in telecommunications, and Volkswagen AG's facility

in Zwickan is one of its most efficient worldwide. The East also scored over the West in agriculture where the vast collective farms of the Communist past have changed in structure and ownership but not in size. This has allowed the East to achieve economies of scale in at least one sector since modern farm machinery has made the large Eastern farms more profitable than the much smaller ones of Western Germany.

On balance, economists who have been following the region closely since the fall of the Berlin Wall believe that the area is making steady if slow progress and that this is not surprising:

"The public was too optimistic in the beginning and too pessimistic when things didn't advance rapidly," said Katja Gerling, an economist at Kiel Institute of Economic Research; a think tank that has joined the Halle institute and Berlin's German Institute of Ecocomic Research to write reports on Eastern Germany for the Economics Ministry in Bonn every six months for much of the last decade.

"Bot we are relatively optimistic. We in the West were a bit

optimistic 10 years ago and saw East Germany as the most successful country in the East bloc, but we didn't realize how great the gap was with the West."
"The East woo't become the Mezzogiorno of Germany,"

said Mr. Ragnitz, referring to the chronically depressed south of Italy. "Convergence will come, but it will take time."

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## GERMANY / A SPECIAL REPORT

# The Olympic Experience

At Munich 'Virtual' Center, Visitors Compete, Too

By Roderick Conway Morris

UNICH — The 1972 benefited from ever since. The city to participate in some sports, sample has onw been chosen to host a permanent, 'virtual' Olympics expe- and try their hand at judging congience, holding out the prospect of a tests. wholesome alternative to the scandal-ridden recent reality of the ac-

Jual Games.
Olympic Spirit Mnenchen,
which was inaugurated March
24, is the brainchild of Andrew Grant, head of the Londonbased Grant Leisure Group and Olympic Committee: The project's 75 million Demsche mark like to fall out the (\$41 million) financing is investors and the city of Mu-

the first of what is planned to be a end of a baseball pitcher or tennis chain of Olympic Spirit leisure cenplayer's deliveries. They can launch Advance booking is advisable, and ters around the world, said Roland themselves from the starting blocks Kleve, managing director of the for the 100-meter sprint, and comventure, which is housed in the pare their reaction time and opening essential. Entry is 18 DM for chilformer Velodrome at Olympiapark, because the Munich Olympiapark has been the most successful of all as part of a field projected on a post-Olympic vennes in maintain- screen in front of them. its original purposes long

35-year-old Dutch-born manager hurtles down a virtual-reality run at who previously spent seven years with Disneyland Paris, was the only major building in the park no longer in full use because the track was . Strictly for those with strong stomopen-air and failed to meet standards for present racing. After two years of reconstruction, the arena has been converted into a 10,000re-meter (12,000-square-yard) all-indoor space, consisting of a Some sports, such as boxing and large ground-floor area devoted to high diving, are presented as the Winter Games, a first floor to judging challenges, with visitors resummer events, a 500-square-meter gymnasium, a 300-seat café and a sports shop.

The basic idea was to bring the Olympics to a bigger andience not experience of a series of events just every two years," Mr. Kleve not, warms the presiding "coach," maid, "and to present the Olympics as the staff are titled, to be unnot only as a visitor would see them but also through the eyes of the problems—is also provided in a 48athletes and the judges. The produce the most convincing

RODERICK CONWAY MORRIS writes for the International Herald Tribune on art and culture.

agann and Atlanta, with participents re-enacting events with cameras strapped to their bodies or Olympics projected a eras strapped to their bodies or new, go-ahead image of equipment. Using this footage, Munich, which it has high-tech simulators allow visitors virtual-reality versions of others,

> Visitors can square up to a lifevisitors can square up to a mesize interactive and suitably provocative ice hockey goalie and try to
> shoot balls into the net, or, bat nr

The high dive gives an licensed by the International idea of what it might be shared in equal parts by private window of a tall building.

Munich was picked as the site of racket in hand, be on the receiving this capacity the wait to participate the first of what is planned to be a end of a baseball pitcher or tennis in some activities could be ling. Advance booking is advisable, and Advance booking is advisable, and pare their reaction time and opening speeds to those of the champions, or run the 1,500 meters on a treadmill

Other events can be experienced by sitting in a four-man bobsled, The Velodrome, said Mr. Kleve, a which bumps, swings and tilts as it "actual" speed and icy air blows in your face and ruffles your hair, or fly into the virtual void as a ski jumper. achs is the chance to be whirled around while strapped into a gyroscope designed to reproduce the violent head-over-heels motions gymnasts perform.

cording points on actual matches. They can then measure them against the real end results.

A composite 10-minote virtual dertaken by those with heart or back seat cinema with hydraulic scats that lurch, bounce and shudder to such takes op some of these sports in the

impression possible, extensive film-sequence is a regular bone-shaker, ing was done at the latest Games at the pole vault leaves your heart somewhere around your knees and the high dive gives a good idea of what it might be like to fall out of the window of a tall building.

Olympic Spirit is also offering day sessions for schools and sports groups. In the evenings, the complex will be available for private and corporate entertaining, although participants in this case would be

> We hope to have half a million visitors in the first year, which, given that last year Olympiapark had 12 million visitors and 730,000 of these took the ride up the Olympic Tower, we believe to be an achievable

figure, said Mr. Kleve.
The refurbished Velodrome can take in 2,600 visitors, although at anything approaching. essential Entry is 18 DM for children (aged 8 to 12) and 28 DM for

While Bonn remained the seat of government in West-Germany, Mu-pich had little competition to its elaim to be the Federal Republic's "cultural capital." The reinstate-ment of Berlin as the country's chief city certainly does not seem to be causing panic in a place where many Germans still say they would like to live, if only they could afford it.

HE lure of the burgeoning Prussian metropolis has yet to dent tourism in Monich, which registered a rise of more than 6 percent in visitors last been well worth the wait. year, bringing nearly 3.4 million to a city with aboot 1.3 million inhab-

But Munich is not resting on its instance, in which it has long been a and moseums have been undergoing space extensive and ambitious expansion and restructuring.

Munich's Alte Pinakothek (Old Picture Gallery), one of the world's coovincing effect that some visitors finest collections of European old masters, reopened its doors last range of post-18th-century massame roof, promising a significant summer after a prolonged restorators. The 20 million DM, 22,000- addition to the city's already immay be left wondering why anybody masters, reopened its doors last first place. The cross-country biking tion, which has turned out to have square-meter new moseum will pressive constellation of museums.



At top left, the former Velodrome at Munich's Olympiapark, where the city's new \$41 million Olympic Spirit center is housed.

Discussions have been going no since the beginning of this century on the oeed in create a new museum for thousands of works belonging to laurels in the area of museums, for the state of Bavaria. The oumber of those works has been steadily in- is devoted to design and applied arts, leader, especially now that it is find- creasing and many have oever been and the Architecture Museum of the ing a rival in Berlin, whose galleries on permanent display for lack of

At last the Pinakothek der Moderne (Modern Art Gallery) is taking shape next door to the Alte Pinakothek and Neue Pinakothek development of 20th-century art, ar-(which itself has an impressive chitecture and design under the

bring together not nnly the collections of the State Gallery of Modern Art, presently housed in a sinister Fascist edifice, but also the State Graphic Art Collection, the Neue Sammlung (New Collection), which Technical University.

The building itself is not espe-cially exciting, but bringing the best of these rich collections together will make it possible to trace the

## A Nation Looks For 'Normality'

Continued from Page 18

the division of the country continue? These questions have definitively been answered with Germany's participation in the NATO campaign in Yngoslavia. A government of the left is leading Germany to join its alliance partners in its first military action since 1945. The slogan "Never Again War" has been replaced by "Never Again Genocide."

Most Germans an longer see a special role for the country, but rather full-fledged integration in the Western community.

as the lesson that should be drawn from history.

On April 19, the first session of the Bundestag took place in the newly opened Berlin Reichstag building. A new chapter of German history is beginning, it is said, and a frequently used formula to describe this chapter is the concept of "nonmality." Germany is a "large, normal country," said Hubert Vedrine, France's foreign minister.

That is not to say that the German past should be forgotten.

The memory of the rupture in civilization represented by the Holocaust cannot be erased. But with what means and in what

form should that memory be guarded?

Already in the 1980s the idea of a central monument in Berlin arose. Then the federal government, the senate of Berlin and a private association sponsored a competition, but the results showed how difficult it was to give any adequa architectonic expressioo to the Holocaust. A decision should

be reached this fall by the Bundestag.
In the meantime, the debate has taken on new life. The In the meantime, the debate has taken on new life. The Bundestag elections on Sept. 27 not only signaled a shift to the left but also to a new generation of leaders. Gerhard Schroeder, the new Social Democratic chancellor, began sending new signals at the very beginning of his term by indicating that the change in government should be understood as a new "normality" in Germany's attitude toward itself. His government adopted the motto "Because We Trust. Germany's Power." He said that he would like a monument in Berlin that would be oriented not only to the past but also to the future and that "people would want to visit."

In connection with the debate about the monument and the questino of German "oormality," no event has upset the nation as much as the speech given by the writer Martia Walser in October after he received the Peace Prize at the Frankfurt International Book Fair, Mr. Walser spoke sentences that a few years agn could ont have been uttered in such a public setting. But he novinusly expressed widely held feelings and it was striking that the political and intellectual elite gathered in Frankfurt's Paulskirche appeared to agree

Mr. Walser maintained that the incantation of Germany's past had become an empty ritual and a political "routing threat." Regarding the planned Holocaust monument, he said: "The world can one day see what people do when they feel responsible for the conscience of others. The cementing of the center of the capital with a nightmare the size of a football field. The monumentalizing of shame.

Mr. Walser's assertions did not gn unanswered. The chairman of the Central Council of Jews, Ignatz Bubis, accused him of "intellectual arson."

But the answers to Mr. Walser demonstrated one thing above all: The old rules of discussion oo longer hold. A monument will be built in Berlin. But it will no looger be the center of the magnetic field that orders the orbit of German politics.

ECKHARD FUHR is an editor at the Frankfurter Allgemeins

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## WORLD ROUNDUP

#### Kafelnikov Beaten At Monte Carlo

TENNES Yevgeni Kafelnikov suffered an embarrassing 6-1, 6-2 defeat at the hands of the Croatian qualifier Ivan Ljubicic at the Monte Carlo Open on Wednes-

The world No. 3 had a chance to replace Pete Sampras at the top of the world rankings had he reached the semifinals here and done better than the world No. 2 and the top seed at Monte Carlo. Carlos Moya. But the second seed was humhled in 38 minutes by the 20-year-old Ljubicic, who is ranked No. 196.

Greg Rusedski of Britain, the world No. 12, also lost to a qualfifer on a gloomy afternoon on the French Riviera. Rusedski went down, 6-2, 6-2, to Jiri Novak of the Czech Republic. Rusedski is a big server who plays best on fast courts, and the red clay at Monte Carlo was even slower than usual

"I have about as moch chance of winning Roland Garros as of seeing a UFO land today," he said, referring to the French Opeo, the clay court season's higgest (AP. Reuters)

#### Spain Reaches Final

Soccer Spain won a place Wednesday in the final of the Youth World Cup, beating Mali, 3-1, in Kaduna, Nigeria. Spain dominated the first half,

with Fernando Varela Ramos scoring two. Mahamadou Dissa put Mali back in the game with a goal in the 52d minute, but Xavi Hernandez sealed it for the Spanish with a goal in injury time. Spain travels to Lagos on Sat-urday to meet the winner of the match between Japan and Uruguay, which was to be played later Wednesday, (AP, AFP)

#### IOC to Say 'No' to Senate

olympics Kevan Gosper, a member of the International Olympic Committee executive board, said Wednesday that he saw oo need for the IOC to report monthly to the U.S. Congress on its progress toward reform.

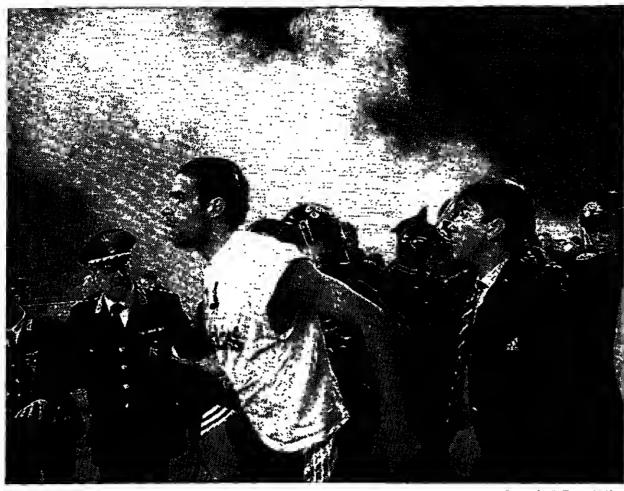
"I don't think we have any re sponsibility to report to a Senate commission," he said, "I don't know-any U.S. corporation that is doing the same."

#### \$650,000 for Aaron Ball

BASEBALL The final home-run ball hit by Hank Aaron was sold for \$650,000 at an aoction Tueslonged to Richard Arndt, now a furniture salesman, who worked at the County Stadium in Milwaukee when Aaron hit his 755th bomer on July 20, 1976. Arndt says he offered to give the ball to Aaron but the Brewers never arranged a meeting, firing him instead for oot giving the ball to the team. (AP)

#### **Leading Trainer Dies**

HORSE RACING Charlie Whittingham, one of the greatest trainers in thoroughbred racing, died Tuesday of leukennia. He was 86. A crusty former Marine, Whittingham had a 62-year career as a trainer. He prepared more than 2,500 winners, including the Kentucky Derby winners Ferdinand (1986) and Sunday Silence (1989). (AP)



## Police in Bologna escorting Pierre Issa of Marseille off the field during the brawl after the end of the match.

## Marseille Victory Marred by Violence

Marseille and Bologna face a possible inquiry after their UEFA Cup semifinal match ended in a brawl involving players, stewards and the son of Rolland Courhis, the Marseille coach.

UEFA, the governing body of European soccer, said Wednesday that it was awaiting reports of the incident before deciding whether to take action. Marseille advanced to the final of the

UEFA Cup after the second leg of the semifinal ended in an exciting 1-1 draw in Bologna Laurent Blanc scored the equalizer on a

penalty kick in the 86th minute. He had to retake the kick because his teammates had entered the penalty area too soon. The first leg in Marseille had ended 0-0, so the French league leader advanced by virtue of the goal scored away from home. With Bologna leading, 1-0, Florian

Maurice broke clear and was tripped by Francesco Antonioli, the Bologna goalkeeper. Bologna players protested that Maurice had been offside and that he had simulated being tripped.
Two minutes after the penalty, Gi-

ancarlo Marocchi, a Bologna defender, was sent off for a dangerous tackle on Aboubacar Camara,

Bologna then attacked furiously, and was restored. But bad blood was evident

room, Bologna supporters threw fire-

#### UEFA CUP

crackers and oranges onto the field, prompting some Marseille players to taunt the fans.

A Bologna player, thought to be de-fender Arnadeo Mangone, threw a punch that triggered a scrap involving six or seven players. These included Christian Dugarry of Marseille, Michele Paramatti, the Bologna captain and goal scorer, and two Bologna substitutes, Massimiliano Capploli and Giampiero Maini.

According to Bologna club officials, Courbis's son Stephane, an official of the French club who sits on the bench. punched Maini. Some newspapers said Maini had a fractured cheekbone. . . French stewards, at the opposite end of

the ground keeping an eye on 2,000 traveling Marseille fans, ran the length of the field to break up the fight. Italian riot police carrying batons also joined in.

in the waning seconds. Stefan Porato, the
Marseille goalkeeper, blocked a powerAs Paramatti made his way to the ful shot from Guiseppe Signori. media room, he passed the elder Courbis
As the players headed for the dressing and accused the French team of being ungracious winners. "You're not intelligent enough to know how to accept

defeat," Courbis said. Signori also was unhappy: "Then they go and celebrate in front of our fans. , they beat us but there are other ays to celebrate.

"Forza Parma in the final," said Signori, referring to the other finalist, an Italian rival of Bologna's. "Better Parma as UEFA Cup champions than this lot." Marseille will pay a price for the bad-tempered match Tuesday. The midfielder Peter Luccin, the defender William

Gallas and the Italian striker Fabrizio Ravanelli all collected second yellow cards in the competition and will be suspended for the final.

Parma 2, Attation Madrid 1 Parma coasted into the UEFA Cup final. The Italians, who led 3-1 from the first game in Madrid, wan 5-2 overall.

Abel Balbo and Enrico Chiesa scored for Parma. Roberto struck for Atletico, but Gianluigi Buffon, the Parma goal-After three minutes of chaos, calm keeper, made several fine saves.

## Spurs Beat Utah to Earn Playoff Spot

The San Antonio Spurs crushed the top team in the league on the road to ensure themselves a place in the National Basketball Association playoffs. The Spurs won, 83-69, in Utah on

Tuesday night, snapping the Jazz's 11game winning streak.

Tim Duncan was magnificent with 36 points, 10 rebounds and seven blocked

Other than Karl Malone, who had 23 points and 13 rebounds, the Jazz did little to slow the rampaging Spurs. Bryon Russell, John Stockton and Shandon Anderson were a combined 9-for-30 from the field, and the Jazz committed 16 tumovers.

Lakers 106, Warriors 102 Shaquille

O'Neal, the league's leading scorer, was loss for the Wizards; ejected after drawing his second technical foul late in the second quarter, but the Lakers rallied from a 20-point deficit

#### NBA ROUNDUP

at the start of the fourth quarter to overcome Goldeo State in Oakland. With Michael Jordan watching from

the stands. Kobe Bryant scored 27 points, 25 of them after halftime, including a buzzer-beating tip-in that forced overtime.

Bulls 83, Wizards 77 Toni Kukoc scored 25 points, grabbed seven rebounds and had nine assists before separating his left shoulder late in the fourth quarter. It was the sixth consecutive rnad

Switzerland

Bucies 95, Magic 83 Ray Alien and Glenn Robinsoo each scored 18 points, and Milwankee got the last 12 points. Orlando, which has lost four straight on the road, failed to score in the final 2:36.

Mavericks 104, Suns 100 Michael Finley scored a season-high 36 points, including the go-ahead jumper with 6.5 seconds left, as the injury-depleted Mav-ericks won in Dallas and ended Phoenix's three-game winning streak

Hawks 103, Raptors 89 Chris Craw-ford had a career-high 18 points as Atlanta wan in Toronto.

•The game in Denver between the Nuggets and the Portland Trail Blazers was postponed because of the oearby high school shootings.

# Serbian Talent Shines Despite War at Home

Kinder and Zalgiris Advance to Final Game.

By Frank Lawlor Special to the Herald Tribune

MUNICH - When a burning flare landed a few feet away from him during the EuroLeague basketball semifinals, Predrag Danilovic didn't flinch.

His team, the defending champion Kinder Bologna, was handily beating its crosstown rival, Teamsystem Bologna, in Munich on Tuesday night. The flare had come from Teamsystem's embit-

#### EUROPEAN BARKETEALL

tered supporters. Danilovic picked it up, raised it in triumph to the raucous Kinder crowd, then coolly rolled it off court to

be smothered. Minutes later, smoke still hung over the court as the game ended in a 62-57 victory for Kinder. Danilovic then rushed to brandish another symbol: the Serbian flag. Long after his teammates had left, Danilovic remained on the floor, pumping the red, white and blue Serbian colors to the chanting cheers of his fans.

"I just wanted to show my support for my people," he said later, still clutching the flag. "That's wby I brought it with me tonight."

Many Serbian athletes have continued playing sports in NATO countries during the war, often wearing black armbands of mourning. But perhaps in oo sport more than basketball have they encountered so much sympathy.

"My teammates are with me, I know that," Danilovic said. "And it helps." That sympathy cuts across cultural barriers. In the final Thursday, Kinder faces Zalgiris of Lithuania, a blowout but on a very personal level."

87-71 winner over favored Olympiakos, Meanwhile, Danilovic tried to prepare coached by Dasan Ivkovic, a Serb who started two of his countrymen alongside two Americans. One of those Americans, forward Johnny Rogers, has made it a point to privately support his teammates and coach during the last month.

'We've been teammates for two years, so I do care for them," Rogers said Wednesday, "And I feel bad because I can see the personal pain and loss they are feeling. before the game, and then Their country is being bombed, they're to think about basketball.'

families are in danger, they doo't know the future. I just try to have some compassion. "I think they appreciate my

gesture. Basically, they would want the same thing I want, peace. I'm not on either side. I'd just like to see the bombing end, some kind of solution, just like they would."

Rogers, a redhead from California, has played 11 seasons in Europe with many teaminates from the present and former Yugoslavia. It is not in him, he says, to monize a people among whom he has personal friends.

"My first teammate here was Drazen Petrovic, so I've always been aware of the problems out of Yugoslavia," said Rogers, 36. "Above all, though, I have a great respect for them as players and teammates. It's incredible, the talent coming out of that small area compared to the rest of

European basketball is dominated by Serbian players and coaches. Five of the top 10 most-valuable-player candidates in Europe last season were Serbs. Serbian coaches working outside Yugoslavia won a string of nine consechead of the sport's governing body is a Serb, Borislav Stankovic. Yugoslavia is the reigning world champion.

As such, almost everyone in elite European basketball knows someone personally affected by the war. Knowing them so closely gives you

a different perspective," Rogers said "We as Americans can't relate to what they're going through, because no one has ever bombed us like this."

At his annual news conference Wednesday, Stankovic tried to distance himself from the war. But reporters wanted to know if Yugoslavia could be expected to play in the men's and women's European championships this summer.

"Unfortunately, my country is living a terrible tragedy that will have con-sequences in our sport there probably for years to come," he said. "It is very, very sad, but we can do nothing. It is not our duty to take a position toward the political situation that we have. We will decide at the last minute, but we hope to have both Yugoslav teams in the championships. There is no United Nations sanction, nor one from the International Olympic Committee. They have qualified and have every right to participate. We will act as the political situation warrants.

David Stern, the National Basketball Association commissioner, sat with Stankovic on the dais and said afterward that the two had talked privately this week about the war. "We've worked together 13 years oow, so I consider him an old friend," Stern said. "He's based here in Munich, but he has family in Yugoslavia, many, many friends. I know it's painful to him. We've discussed it,

for the final, and as every day, tried to assure himself of the safety of loved ooes at home. "It's difficult, very difficult to play," he said. "Not during the game, because then you don't think of the bombing and things going on. You just try to play your best. But the preparation for the game is oot only the 40 minutes on the floor. It is the day before, two days before the game, and then I am oot able



utive European club titles end- Predrag Danilovic brandishing a flare during last season. The longtime ing the European club basketball semifinal.

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#### **SPORTS**

## Royals Blow 2 Leads les Against the Twins

Latham's Sacrifice Fly Settles Game in 13th

The Kansas City Royals blew leads of four runs and two runs before losing, 8-7, to the Minnesota Twins in the 13th

The Royals, who last year lost 51 BASESALL ROUNDUP

-home games - a club-record and the worst total in the majors --- slid to 1-7 at home this year.

Kansas City had leads of 5-1 and 7-5 on Tuesday before Chris Latham settled the game with a 13th-immig sacrifice fly. The Royals have squandered leads in

three games while losing four straight.
'It's frustrating.' said Tony Muser, the Kansas City manager. "But we're going to stick with the young guys that we believe in and we're going to prod them and push them to turn this thing around."

The Twins loaded the bases in the 13th inning after Doug Mientkiewicz drew a leadoff walk. Then Latham, who had just one hit in 10 at-bats this year, lined a sacrifice fly into left to score the go-ahead run. "Man, it felt like a thousand pounds takeo off my chest," Latham said. "I was feeling pressure. It's tough coming off the bench when you haven't had that many at-bats."

lowed three hits in eight innings and Paul O'Neill homered twice as New York beat Texas at home to snap a four-game

losing streak:
O'Neill broke out of an 0-for-15 shamp with a two-run homer in the first and a solo shot in the third.

Texas did not get a runner past second in a game that brought back memories of the playoffs last year, when New York held the Rangers to one run and a .141 average during a three-game sweet Devil Raya 5, Orioles 3 Scott Erickson (0-3) was pulled out after just five outs as

visiting Baltimore lost its fourth At 3-10, the Orioles are off to their worst start since they lost 21 straight at the start of the 1988 season. Erickson allowed five runs and eight hits, raising

his earned run average to 12.41. Blue Jays 5, Angels 1 Tony Fernandez hit a three-run double, and Kelvim Escobar allowed one run and eight hits in 61/3 imnings at the SkyDome as Toronto beat

Anaheim to win its sixth straight.
Indians 5, Athletics 1 Bartolo Colon (3-0) allowed three hits in six innings, and Steve Reed, Mark Langston and Paul Shuey followed with hitless relief as Cleveland beat visiting Oakland and matched its 10-2 start of last season.



Matt Clement of San Diego sliding safely home as Jason Kendall, the Pittsburgh catcher, drops the throw.

Red Sox 1, Tigers 0 Pedro Martinez drawn 100,029,328 fans.

allowed three hits and struck out 10 in 71/2 innings, and Troy O'Leary bomered as Boston won in Detroit.

White Sox 3, Mariners 1 Frank Thomas hit a go-shead double in the fifth inning, and Ray Durham added a solo bomer as Chicago beat Seattle and won for the first time in four bome games this season. Dodgers 5, Braves 4 Darren Dreifort

only four hits as Los Angeles beat At-The crowd of 37,717 lifted Los

and three relievers gave up 11 walks bot

Angeles over the 100 million mark at opened in 1962. The Dodgers have

Pirates 7, Padres 3 Adrian Brown

blooped a bases-loaded, riebreaking single off Trevor Hoffman with one out in the 10th inning as Pittsburgh won in San Diego.

Diamondbacks 8, Phillies 1 Randy Johnson struck out 10 Philadelphia batters to get his first bome victory for

runs as Houston won in Chicago. Sammy Sosa hit his third borner and

Dodger Stadium since the ballbark first of the seasoo at Wrigley Field.

pos was postponed because of the nearby high school shootings.

innings as Florida won in San Francisco. Cardinale 6, Browers 3 Eric Davis drove in two ruos before he was hit by a pitch and left the game. St. Louis also lost Mark McGwire, who left the game in the fifth inning with a tight left ham-string, bot the Cards still managed beat

ave up two runs and seven hits in 71/3

visiting Milwaukee. Mete 3, Reds 2 Bobby Bonilla's first Astroa 10, Cubs 4 Richard Hidalgo and Mitch Meluskey hit back-to-back inning tie as New York won in Cirbomers and Carl Everett drove in three

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## **EPO Provides** An 'Incredible' Lift to Athletes **In Drug Trials**

Agence France-Presse
SYDNEY — Australian athletes taking part in tests with banned drugs have shown "incredible increases" in performance, a report said Wednesday.

In trials to develop a reliable doping test before the Sydney 2000 Olympic 22 athletes are being injected with EPO, a synthetic hormone that stimulates the production of oxygen-carrying red blood cells. Eleven are being given a placebo.

"We are seeing huge increases in per-formance in a very short amount of time," Hamilton Lee, a scientist at the Australian Institute of Sports, told the Sydney Daily Telegraph. "We don't know who is on EPO and who is taking a placebo, but

there are incredible increases EPO is not detectable through urine analysis, and currently there is oo re-liable test. "The present task is to see whether we can detect artificial EPO," said Geoff Strang, director of the Anstralian Sports Commission.

The athletes, who have not been named, are believed to be just below elite Olympic level. They have been injected three times a week and will have to stay out of competition for 14 weeks after the five-week program to allow the drug to leave the body.

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#### NDA s Stance

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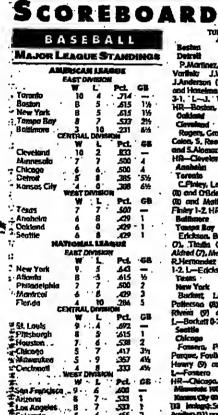
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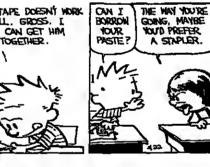
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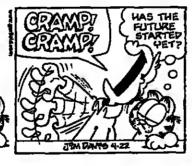




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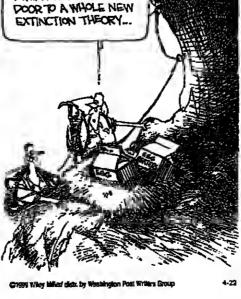
















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#### ART BUCHWALD

## The Worth of a Name

NEW YORK — How ing lists a persoo's name gets much do you think your more valuable every day.

oot enough. your telephone company is receiving Hustler magazine

card company, and the credit card company will sell it to a carmaker who will peddle it to a magazine for its subscription

This is how it works -- and there isn't much you can do about it. An insurance comwaste money on those who live in Guam or the Aleutian Islands. It cootacts a mailorder house that specializes in winter underwear.

"We would like to huy the names of all doctors who play golf, specialize in gastroeoterology and have been married more than once." We have such a list but it

will cost you 15 cents a oame. and oo rebate for anyone who has moved to Brazil in the last

With computerized mail- your summer?

oame is worth? Whatever figure you just came up with, it's sold your name wheo, after you order flowers for your What's happening is that mother by telegraph, you start selling your name to a credit in the mail without your permission.

> Archie Loman posed an interesting question the other day. He said, "If companies are selling my name, why can't I get some of the

You probably could if you knew they were doing it. But most profit organizations in the business keep their lists in pany wants to do a mailing to salt mines in Utah, and it's doctors, but it doeso't want to impossible for anyone to find

> There is a slight wave of protest among consumers that their names are being bandied around without their permissioo, hut they can't get themselves out of the hard drive. Let's face it. There is oo busioess like the name husiness.

The direct marketing lohby will always ask, "How are they going to sell gallons of suntan oil if a company doesn't know how you spend

#### Uruguayan Wins Lannan Prize

New York Times Service

New YORK — The Lannan Foundation of Santa Fe will give its first \$250,000 Prize for Cultural Freedom to the Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano. As part of the award, one of the cultural world's largest monetary prizes, the foundation will also donate \$100,000 to three charities of Galeano's choosing. Galeano, 58, is best known for his trilogy, "Memory of

Fire," which consists of poetic vignettes about the history of the Americas and indigenous peoples. It won the American Book Award in 1989, In 1974 he fled Uruguay after protesting government violence and corruption. After a coup in Argentins, Galeano fled again, to Spain, where he lived until he returned to Uruguay in 1984.

The prize recognizes work that "celehrates the human right to freedom of imagination, inquiry and expression."

# Sifting the '60s Through the Blur of the '90s

By Stephen Holden New York Times Service

NJEW YORK -- A whiff of incense mixed with marijuana smoke drifts through two new movies, "Hideous Kinky" and "A Walk on the Moon," both of which conjure an era that Hollywood, in its devotion to

snugly happy endings, has largely avoided.

In the countercultural dream that has so intimidated Hollywood, a hippie Pied Piper with stringy shoulder-length hair, a fringed jacket and reeking of patchouli oil is banging a tambourine on his knee with one hand and flashing a peace sign with the other. Beside him are a trio of spaced-out go-go girls shimmying and gazing groggily into the purple haze.

Although that signature sceet, blown across three decades of shifting winds, iso't overpowering in these films, it is just pungent enough to suggest that what we think of as "the '60s" — the years (1964-72) bracketed musically by Beatlemania and "American Pie" - were not a hallucination but a messy, uncomfortable reality.

films remind us that in the days of turning on, tuning in and dropping out, people actually followed Timothy Leary's notorious prescription for personal enlightenment.

Bot in remaining true to Hollywood's tidy, late-'90s formulas, they also suggest that dropping back in was just as easy and that all that dope smoking, acid tripping, searching, protesting and free love was an adolesceot prank, a temporary lapse of judgment.

Both films focus on young, attractive women who break the rules to pursue sexual and spiritual transceodeoce, then return to the middle-class lives they recoursed. In the smart, beautifully acted "Hideous Kinky," set in Morocco in 1972, Kate Winslet is Jolia, a young Englishwoman drifting around North Africa with two young daughters in tow and oo money.

In Marrakech she meets a Moroccan street acrobat, Said Taghmaoui, who is also penniless. The two make love, smoke hashish and drag the girls aloog oo a risky trek into the countryside. Now and then, Julia, who aspires to learn Sufi dancing, makes ooises aboot wanting to experience pure joy hy ohliterating her ego.

In reimagining an era of hippies, dropouts and seekers after a higher consciousness, "Hideous Kinky" is accurate as far as it goes. But that isn't very far. The movie conveys



In their hesitantly nostalgic ways, both Kate Winslet is a rambling mom in Morocco in "Hideous Kinky."

movie oudges us again and again to recognize what a terrible, irresponsible parent she is.

Had "A Walk on the Mooo" been made in

When one daughter insists she wants to return to England and have a proper education, her mother is dumhfounded. True, Julia radiates a certain defiant charm. Bot in the film's overall judgment, she is also a silly spaced-out fool who must come to her senses. And in the end she does.

"A Walk on the Moon" follows Pearl Kantrowitz, played by Diane Lane, to a working-class Jewish resort in the Catskills in the summer of 1969. Pearl, who married her husband. Marty (Liev Schreiber), wheo she became pregnant at 17, is oow the mother of a 14-year-old daughter, Alison (Anna Paquin), who is just entering adolescence. On weekdays, while Marty is back in New York City repairing televisions, Pearl plunges into an affair with Walker (Viggo Mortensen), a smolderingly handsome ped-dler of blouses that he sells to the summer colony out of his van.

Pearl momentarily loses her head and slips in to the thick of things. off with Walker to the nearby Woodstock And Hollywood was festival, where her daughter witnesses her. body-painted and ecstatic, being whirled in her lover's arms. Alisoo is understandahly movies about it.

only the flavor of the time. Julia's quest is upset. When Pearl finally has to choose portrayed as muddled and vague, and the between Marty and Walker, the small, finely

the '70s, there is little doubt that the character would have forsaken her family to go on the road with her sexual savior. Today, that is oot permitted.

In what they show and doo't show of the '60s, both films raise disturbing questions: When did it become embarrassing for the mass media to portray the counterculture as a movement driveo by passinnate idealism and a reckless insistence on crashing through barriers? Could it be that the movies are too scared of the era and the freedoms it represented to confroot it head-on? Every oow and theo, Hollywood has tried.

'Easy Rider,' which came out of left field in 1969 and was made for a dime, proved to be a fluke. While other films of the period, "Midnight Cowboy" and "Five Easy Pieces," for example, and later, "Shampoo" and "Coming Home," expressed a comhative, rebellious spirit, they didn't dive

And Hollywood was very late in addressing the Vietnam War. It had to be safely behind us before we could begin to watch

**PEOPLE** 

As much as the counterculture was mobilized by antiwar sectionent, its driving force was really drugs, and not only psychedelics. In the quest to "break oo through to the other side," as Jim Morrison bellowed, any and every stimulant was enlisted

for the cause.

Amphetamines, which were widely available back then and carried little stigma, contributed immeasurably to the collective paranoia that was rapidly building up. And, of course, there was always booze to smooth

the transitions. Were what we call the '60s a mass psychosis that is either best forgotten or sweptunder the rug? I don't think so. For all the smashed lives and insanity that such excesses brought, the root of that frenzied exploration still strikes me as an honest, if naive, effort to improve the human condition by storming the barricades of consciousness. That idealism is distilled in the best music of the era, which combines a majestic rage with an exhilarating eroticism.

Today's social climate is in many ways antithetical to that of 30 years ago when the notion of capitalism itself was under siege. The power of today's American economy combined with the country's conservative, conformist values, make joining the system irresistible to all but a few. Rebellion is reduced to a matter of fashion statement.

If the AIDS epidemic ended the sexual revolotion, sexual allure has increasingly be-come the major marketing tool fueling the economy. Rock may have been superseded by rap, but the history of rock and roll is probably the one with which more Americans are familiar than any other. As for drugs, the new miracle elixirs, Prozac and the other serotonin boosters are tools to help people become happier, more efficient producers in the great American money machine.

Movies may never get the '60s right. For

one thing, those days are fading fast, and many of the Hollywood studio executives calling the shots are Wunderkinds in their 20s and 30s whose closest cootact with the '60s are VH1 flashbacks or their parents' (censored) anecdotes.

In his sweetly prescient '60s hallad, "Younger Generatioo," John Sebastian, a quintessential Woodstock-era songwriter. contemplated impending fatherhood and the raising of an adolescent son: "And then I'll know that all I've learned my kid assumes/And all my deepest worries must be his cartoons."



Loren meeting the paparazzi after receiving her award in Rome.

WITH a temporary permit in hand, Woodstock '99 organizers have booked four more groups to their mu-sical lineup. Added for the three-day festival this summer are Wyclef Jean and the Refugee Allstars, the Ca-nadian rockers Our Lady Peace, the British soul and funk seosation Jamiroqual and the former Grateful Dead drummer Mickey Hart and his Planet Drum band. So far, 35 acts have been signed to perform at the 30th anniversary event, which will be held July 23 to 25 at the former Griffiss Air Force Base at Rome, New York. Among the other groups scheduled to perform so far are the Dave Matthews Band, Jewel, Metallica, Alanis Morissette, Counting Crows and Shervi Crow. Woodstock tickets go oo sale natioowide for \$150 apiece oo

Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema received a surprise for his 50th hirthday — a kiss on the cheek from Sophia Loren. The actress planted the kiss on the prime minister during a ceremooy in Rome in which he preseoted her a government award for cultural achievement. "I am a true admirer of yours," D'Alema told Loreo. "Thanks for the emotions you know how to give people, oot for me.

Johany Cash has recorded more than 100 of his favorite Scriptures for a soonto-be-released line of electronic Bibles. Cash will oarrate the desktop versioo of Franklin Electronics' King James Bible due out in July. He has been a spokesman for the company for six years.

Jane Seymour's fans raised \$10,000 to sponsor a star with her name on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. Pam Hughes, international chairwoman for the Jane Seymour Star Campaign, said fans from around the world had con-tributed. "This is way beyond my wildest imaginatioo," Seymout told a cheering crowd of more than 500 along the sidewalk at the dedication ceremony,

adding a thank-you to the fans who had pooled their money to promote her star.
"When I came here from England, I looked at the stars on Hollywood Boulevard and said. 'These are for other

Friends and family of the folk rock musician Dave Swarbrick were relieved to find out that he was still alive, and The Daily Telegraph of London apologized for mistakenly reporting his death at the age of 58 and carrying an ohitnary. Swarbrick, a member of the veteran British group Fairport Convention, is still recovering in a hospital from a chest infection. "This is really going to tickle him pink." his wife, Jill.

A judge in New York has clipped the wings of a daredevil Norwegian para-chutist who jumped off New York City's tallest skyscrapers. Thor Axel Kappfiell, 32, of Drammen, Norway, was allowed to plead guilty to three

misdemeanor counts after promising not to jump off any more buildings in the city. The \$2,000 parachute he used in March to jump off one of the twin towers of the 110-story World Trade Center was confiscated by prosecotors as "an instrument of crime." In October Kappfiell, parachuted off the 86th-floor observation deck of the Empire State Building and the 61st floor of the Chrysler Building. "For a jumper, being in New York is like being in heaven," Kappfjell said. All and a second

The dencer-choreographer Ann Reinking will join the touring company of "Chicago" next week in Boston to replace Sandy Duncan, who broke her foot while rehearsing to take the musical on the road. Duncan plans to join the New York cast as Roxie Hart when her injury heals, a spokesman for the show said. Reinking originally starred in and choreographed the revival of "Chicago," which opened in New York in November 1996. She will play in Bos-



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